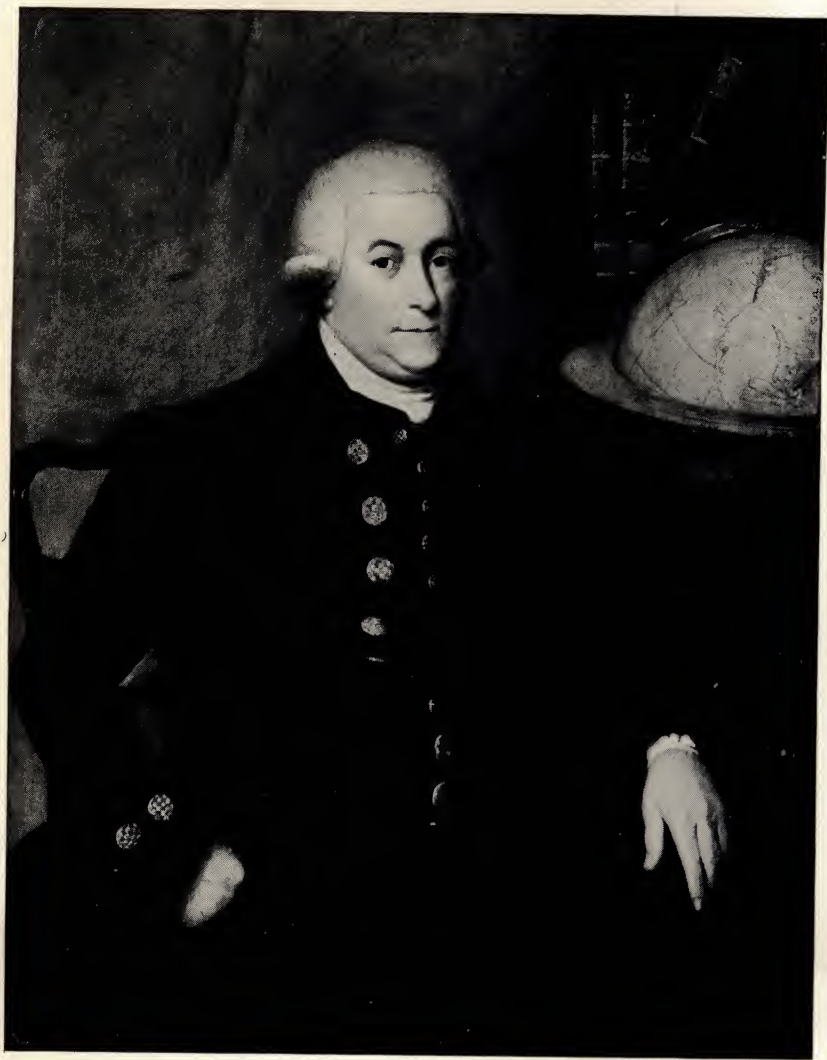


VANCOUVER
A LIFE: 1757-1798



National Portrait Gallery

CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER

From the painting by Lemuel Abbott

[Frontispiece

VANCOUVER

A LIFE

1757-1798

By
GEORGE GODWIN
Author of 'The Eternal Forest,' etc.



1930
PHILIP ALLAN

VICTORIA COLLEGE
LIBRARY
VICTORIA, B. C.

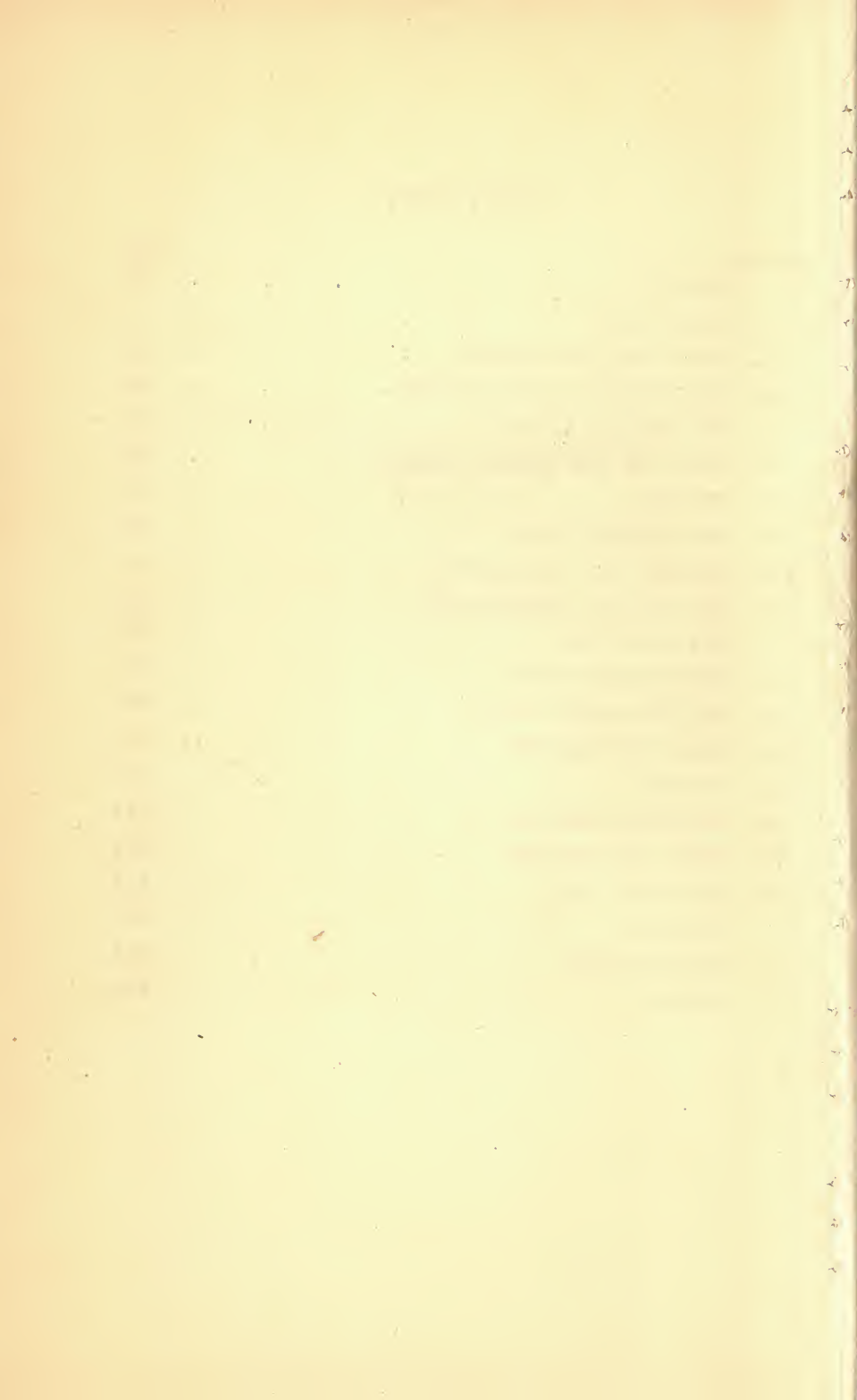
G 246

V 3 G 6

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE CAMELOT PRESS, LIMITED
LONDON AND SOUTHAMPTON, AND PUBLISHED BY
PHILIP ALLAN AND CO., LTD., AT
QUALITY HOUSE, GREAT
RUSSELL STREET
LONDON

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
PREFACE	ix
I. EARLY DAYS	I
II. WITH COOK TO HAWAII	12
III. WITH RODNEY AND GARDNER	20
IV. THE NOOTKA AFFAIR	24
V. START OF THE GREAT VOYAGE	36
VI. OTAHITI	50
VII. THE FABLED COAST	60
VIII. QUADRA AND VANCOUVER	71
IX. THE SPANISH SETTLEMENTS	79
X. THE LAWGIVER	87
XI. NORTHWARD AGAIN	95
XII. THE SOUTHERN TRACK	106
XIII. KING GEORGE MEN	113
XIV. ALASKA	122
XV. HOMEWARD BOUND	134
XVI. WORK AND WORRY	147
XVII. THE LAST YEAR	157
APPENDIX	181
BIBLIOGRAPHY	297
INDEX	299

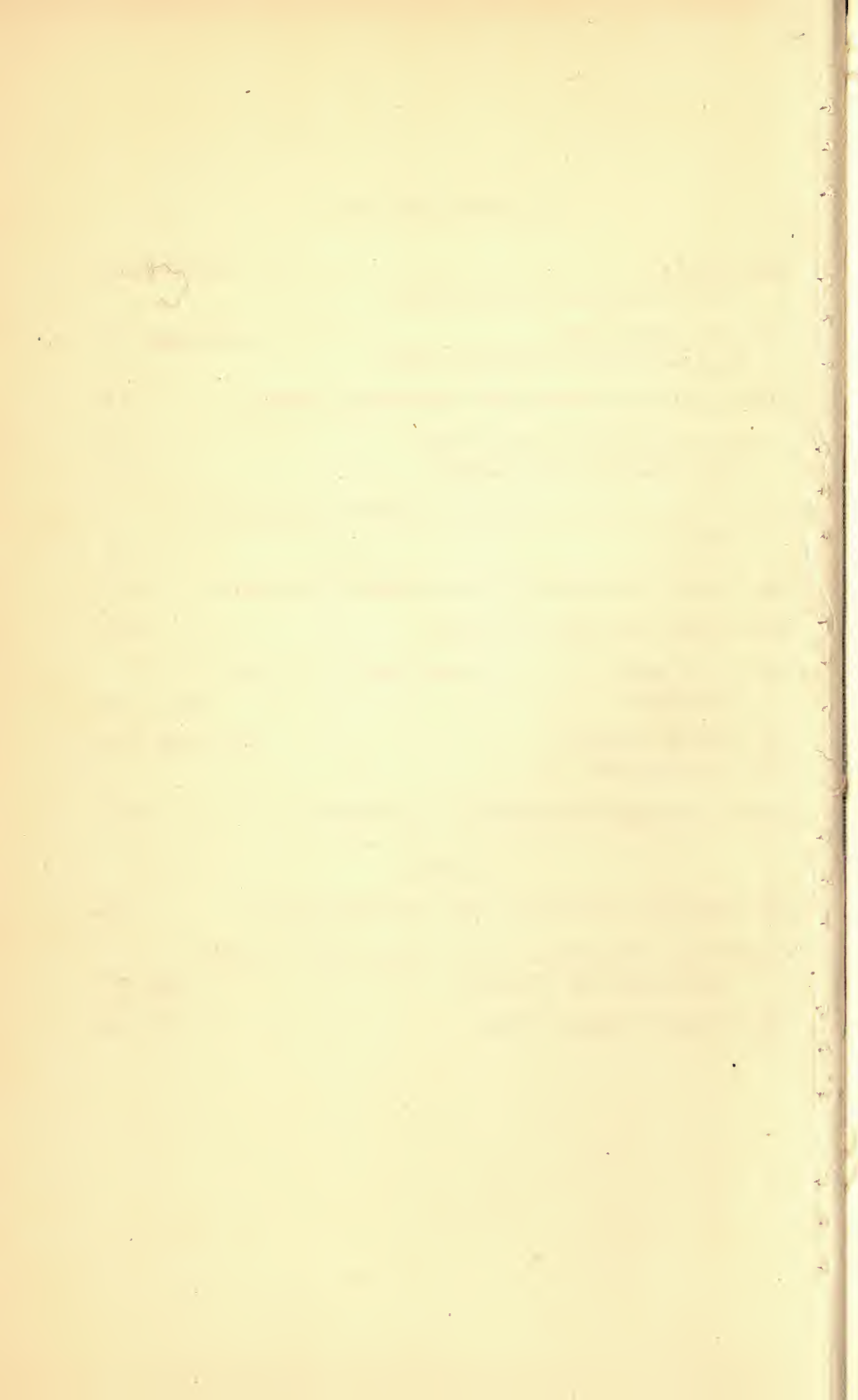


ILLUSTRATIONS

VANCOUVER	<i>Frontispiece</i>
from the portrait by Lemuel Abbott	
CAPTAIN JAMES COOK	<i>facing page 14</i>
from the portrait by Nathaniel Dance	
RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY IN NOOTKA SOUND	18
A VIEW OF DEPTFORD DOCKYARD	30
from a drawing by Rowlandson	
DISCOVERY ON THE ROCKS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND	72
MS. LETTER CONCERNING THE CEDING OF HAWAII	116
DISCOVERY AS A CONVICT HULK	148
PAGE OF THE MS. OF VANCOUVER'S VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY	<i>page 159</i>
SIR ROBERT BARRIE }	<i>facing page 170</i>
JOHN VANCOUVER }	
SHEER DRAUGHT OF DISCOVERY (DIAGRAM)	188

CHARTS

BROUGHTON'S SKETCH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER	63
CHART OF TERRITORY N. OF FITZHUGH'S SOUND, N.W. COAST OF AMERICA	<i>page 98</i>
VANCOUVER'S GREAT CHART	<i>At end</i>



PREFACE

THIS book is so arranged that the reader who so desires may follow Vancouver's story without encountering, in the narrative, interpolations of the historical material which forms the Appendix.

Vancouver is undoubtedly the worst documented of all famous eighteenth-century navigators. He did his work. He died. He was forgotten.

And now, after far more than a century, interest in the man himself steadily increases as the value of the work he did becomes year by year more apparent. The more modern geographers examine his work, the greater becomes their admiration of its excellence. This being so, it is natural enough that curiosity concerning the man himself has been stimulated during the last twenty-five years.

Rather more than twenty years ago, Professor Edmund S. Meany, of Washington University, who has done so much to revive the memory of Vancouver, published an annotated edition of that part of the *Voyage of Discovery* which deals with the exploration of Puget Sound. He lamented there the dearth of historical material upon which the biographer of Vancouver could draw.

The present biography is an attempt to set out the life of Vancouver in the light of material gathered from many hitherto neglected sources. When but little is known of a man, legends concerning him grow apace, and very little is needed to influence the chancy estimate. Thus Vancouver has been deemed a harsh, if not a downright brutal commander, and this on the evidence of a single episode that, impartially examined, proves nothing against him.

In 1923, Mr. G. H. Anderson of King's Lynn followed Professor Meany's work with a brief but very valuable

monograph on the Vancouver family's association with that town. In America and in Canada others have gone in search of new material: notably Judge Howay, of New Westminster, British Columbia; the late Dr. C. F. Newcombe, of Vancouver; Mr. L. V. Denton and Mr. John Hosie, of the British Columbian Historical Association. But it has been slow and difficult work.

The second part of this book has been arranged, for the convenience of readers, in the form of an appendix. It consists of a large number of hitherto overlooked Vancouver despatches, letters and charts; together with a number of notes upon persons and subjects of historical interest.

The searching of the archives which resulted in the discovery of most of this new material was carried out by Mrs. Violet Heddon, to whom I now wish to express my thanks and gratitude. Often the deciphering of the faded ink proved to be no easy matter, and there were bundles of manuscript whose identification called for patience, knowledge and enthusiasm. The Index is an additional obligation I have to acknowledge to the same clever worker.

My thanks are also due to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for permission to reproduce the illustrations facing pages 18 and 148; and to Mr. W. G. Perrin, librarian of the Admiralty library, Whitehall, London, for the active interest he took in the work and for many courtesies and much help. I have to thank Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton for technical data concerning the Navy of that day; Mr. A. P. Taylor, Archivist of Hawaii, has kindly allowed the reproduction of Vancouver's letter concerning the ceding of those islands to Great Britain. Messrs. Edwards & Tregaskis have permitted me to copy and reproduce three original letters in their possession, two of which, it is interesting to note, recently changed hands at £130 and £125. Mr. W. H. Harland, the Surrey antiquarian, did much to put me in the way of information concerning Vancouver's

days in Petersham. Professor Geoffrey Callender, of the Department of History, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, had a search of the Macpherson Collection made—a not inconsiderable labour. Mr. Rodney Barrie supplied me with biographical material about Admiral Barrie, his distinguished forbear, and has permitted the reproduction of the portrait facing page 170. Mr. E. M. Miller, of Somerset House, helped me in elucidating several legal points. Miss Agnes Peppercorne, a descendant of John Vancouver, has allowed me to reproduce the charming miniature painting of him in her possession. Mynheer P. de Waal, of the Genealogisch-Heraldisch Genootschap, Holland, instituted a search of the archives of Couvorden, Drentke, Holland. Miss E. Jemmett-Brown, of Oxford, most generously presented me with the second edition of Vancouver's rare *Voyage of Discovery*. Captain H. D. Parizeau, of the Dominion of Canada Hydrographic Survey, allowed me to reproduce his excellent analysis of coastal surveys. Mr. John Hosie, provincial librarian of British Columbia, has helped me with advice, information, books and most hearty encouragement.

To all these and other friends who have helped me I must express my sincere gratitude, for without their help this book, imperfect as it is, could not have been attempted.



CHAPTER I

Early Days

1757-1772

THE ANGLO-DUTCH FAMILY

GEORGE VANCOUVER was born in the ancient port of King's Lynn, Norfolk, on the 22nd day of June, 1757, the youngest of the five children of John Jasper Vancouver, deputy collector of customs, and of Bridget, his wife.¹

Families of Anglo-Dutch descent are by no means uncommon in East Anglia. Many, no doubt, might be traced back to the sixteenth century, when the atrocities of the Inquisition under Charles V depopulated the Lowlands and drove many heretic burghers from the country. These expatriated exiles settled with their families in England, but whether the Vancouvers of King's Lynn came over with such refugees, or later, when the Dutch were invited to come and teach the science of dyking, is purely conjectural.

One thing we know : at the time of George Vancouver's birth, the family was already well established, completely anglicised, and infused with much good English blood. John Jasper Vancouver certainly knew of his Dutch origin, for the children were told that their paternal ancestors came from Couvorden in the Province of Drenkte, Holland, and they were proud of it. As a boy, George Vancouver heard the story many times, no doubt, and that he stored it away in his orderly mind we know, for on the coast of Alaska, pointing a finger southwards into Chatham Strait, is the

¹ p. 181.

high promontory upon which he conferred the name Point Couverden in honour of his paternal ancestors, as he himself set down.

Unfortunately, the archives of the city of Couvorden yield but a single document concerning the Couverdens; but it is of value because it supports the tradition of the Norfolk Vancouvers. This is the record of the birth of Christoffel Daniel, son of Captain Christiaan Werner Jan van Couverden and his wife, Hendrijna Jacoba, on the 19th of October, 1757.

The easy transition of the Dutch van Couverden to Vancouver, the anglicised form of it, is obvious; but there is nothing to tell us whether the two branches of the family were at that period aware of each other's existence. There may have been links, and the births of George and Christoffel may have been matters of mutual congratulations in the year 1757; but it is unknown whether the Norfolk Customs official had any knowledge of the Dutch army captain of Couvorden, though his son John gave the Christian name Christopher to one of his four children.¹ There were other Vancouvers in England at this period, probably related to the family of the explorer. One, John Vancouver, of Warwick, is mentioned in the *Annual Register* as getting out a patent for a painting process in 1814. But that is all that is known.

John Jasper Vancouver was a well-known local character. He held his office as deputy collector of customs from Charles Turner, head of the most powerful local Tory family, and to this activity he added the collection of town debts.² He was a small man, very active in the Tory interest, and contemporary political satires lampoon him as 'Little Van,' but without malice.

The ancient gateway that once led into the large courtyard of John Vancouver's house still stands in narrow New Conduit Street, King's Lynn, though the house itself

¹ pp. 181-3.

² p. 183.

has been demolished. It was a large house set snugly in a well-matured garden of pear and apple trees ; while in the big yard on the east side of the house stood roomy stables. It was a typical comfortable home of a family man with an assured and adequate income. The King's Lynn family had also a social link with the county through their mother, who descended from the squires of Wiggenhall St. Mary, her birthplace.¹

Since the days when Vancouver was a boy, King's Lynn has suffered a decline ; even by the eighteenth century it had already passed the meridian of a prosperity that reached its zenith when Hanse merchants flourished there. To-day it enjoys the dignity and quietude of age. About these narrow streets of carven overhanging mansions that stand yet as witness to the wealth of those old merchants, George Vancouver ran as a boy. He was bred with the smell of the North Sea in his nostrils, was familiar with the mahogany faces of ear-ringed sailormen from distant lands, with street fracas between the press-gangs^a and frantic countrymen—with all those evocative sights and sounds and odours of a port that arouse in youth dreams of far-off lands and the desire for adventure. For a great seaman one would have chosen just such a birthplace as this.

The three Vancouver boys, John, Charles and George, probably received their education at ancient Lynn Grammar School, a foundation dating back to Tudor times. The school achieved a certain notoriety when Vancouver was five years old through the dramatic arrest and trial for murder of Eugene Aram, who ushered there. But the school records of this period have been lost, so that it is only possible to suggest the probability.

Of the subsequent careers of Vancouver's brothers nothing is known beyond the fact that when John Vancouver, the elder, died, John Vancouver, the younger, succeeded his father as Deputy Customer. Between John

¹ p. 183.

^a p. 183.

and George there was undoubtedly a close tie not so common between brothers as is often supposed. George was to become the man of action : John, so far as we know, lived uneventful days. He comes into our story later, however, as the able editor and panegyrist of his younger brother's monumental records of his voyages. His features have been preserved for us in the miniature reproduced here, from which it will be seen that his was a face of singular beauty and almost feminine delicacy.

These fragmentary facts are all we know of the childhood of George Vancouver. His mother died when he was eleven years of age, and four years later the boy had put childish things away for ever.

WITH COOK IN THE ANTARTIC : 1771-1775

When on the afternoon of 12th July, 1771, Lieutenant James Cook brought his ship, the barque *Endeavour*, to anchor in the Downs, he was already the foremost navigator of his day. He had risen with dramatic swiftness from the lowly condition of a Yorkshire farm servant's son to commissioned rank in the Navy. He was at this time forty-three years of age, with twenty-seven years of service behind him. He had done brilliant work under Admiral Saunders,¹ the architect of Wolfe's great victory over Montcalm, charting the St. Lawrence channel opposite Montmorency and Beauport under the noses of the French. Later, he had charted the St. Lawrence below Quebec ; had assisted at the recapture of Newfoundland and, somehow, had found time to accumulate sufficient astronomical science for the compilation of a learned treatise upon the eclipse of the sun seen from Newfoundland in 1766. He had made many other notable surveys on the Atlantic seaboard, too, and all that he had put his hand to had been well and truly done.

¹ p. 184.

The three years' voyage which ended in the Downs on that summer afternoon was the first of the three famous voyages of discovery under Cook's leadership. It had lasted three years, having been undertaken 'Chiefly with a view of observing the transit of Venus over the Sun's disk, and also of exploring the South Seas.' And these, it may be observed, were the objectives that conditioned most of the notable sea adventures of the eighteenth century, namely, exploration, and the study of astronomy for the purposes of scientific navigation.

The *Endeavour* had been well equipped in trained personnel and with the latest scientific apparatus. Mr. Joseph Banks, F.R.S. (the Royal Society had supplied the initial impulse of the venture), had accompanied the expedition and, among other novelties of the day, the *Resolution* carried reflecting telescopes fitted with the Dollond micrometer.¹

Cook, with characteristic vigour, had achieved far more than was required of him by the terms of his commission. He had visited and charted De Quiros' Tahiti and the Society Group (named in compliment of the Royal Society); he had rediscovered New Zealand nearly a century after Tasman, and had proved the insularity of the islands by a circumnavigation of both, charting their 2,400 miles of coast with admirable accuracy. He had mapped the east coast of Australia and, along with these important surveys, had duly observed the transit of Venus and obtained the data he sought. Thus, when the *Endeavour* dropped anchor in the Downs on that summer afternoon, the great commander had come home with much new knowledge of the earth and of the heavens above it.

At that time the great controversy over the existence of a continent in the Southern Hemisphere had been stimulated by the publication of *Dalrymple's Voyages*.² The curiosity of the Government was whetted, and the Royal Society

¹ p. 184.

² p. 185.

pressed for a renewed attempt to prove chimerical, or otherwise, this fabled land.

Cook was the obvious man to command such an expedition, and was soon at work making ready. This time two ships were commissioned, for the *Endeavour* had been nearly lost on a coral reef off the coast of Australia, and the folly of a solo expedition was recognised by him.

In choosing the types of ship to be employed, Cook was governed by his past experience. As he has recorded, he sought safety, moderate draught, sufficient burden to carry equipment and stores for two years, and moderate size to facilitate laying on shore for repairs. On the 13th July, 1772, the *Resolution*, 462 tons, and her consort, the *Adventure*, 336 tons, sailed out of Plymouth Sound. They were, in fact, nothing but specially fitted colliers of the type Cook had served on in his nonage; Whitby built ships, purchased at Hull.

The principal officers were :

Resolution

Commander : Captain Cook.

Lieutenants : R. P. Cooper, Charles Clerke,
Richard Pickersgill.

Master : Joseph Gilbert.

Surgeon : James Patten.

Lieutenant Royal Marines : John Edgecumbe.

Adventure

Commander : Captain Tobias Furneaux.

Lieutenants : Joseph Shank, Arthur Kempe.

Master : Peter Fannin.

Surgeon : Thomas Andrews.

Lieutenant Royal Marines : James Scott.

On the muster table of the *Resolution*, among the A.B.'s,

appeared the name, George Vancouver. He was then just fifteen years of age. It was his first experience of the Navy, and his introduction to his profession was to last four years.

To the uninitiated it has been a source of astonishment that in the eighteenth century boys in their early teens went to sea as able-bodied seamen. In fact, boys entering the Navy with the object of later taking the examination for commissioned rank were rated thus only nominally. They were known as the 'young gentlemen,' and they belonged to the quarter-deck, receiving the treatment of midshipmen. The nominal rating A.B. was determined by convenience, and sometimes they received other minor rates. The probationary period leading to commissioned rank was six years, and in that time a boy might be successively rated as A.B., midshipman, A.B., master's mate.¹ Between 1670 and 1830 it was virtually impossible for a boy entered under the system to escape the A.B. rating for a considerable part of his time.

Vancouver's first four years at sea, then, were spent on the quarter-deck. Cook himself wrote a long and detailed journal of this voyage, and other members of the two ships' companies kept comprehensive logs. But if Vancouver put down his experiences upon paper that document has been lost. We know how he fared because we know how his fellows fared.

It is an impressive proceeding to trace upon the map the course of these two insignificant ships, for their winding tracks represent three circumferences of our earth. From Plymouth, by way of Ascension, to the Cape of Good Hope, down to the Antarctic Circle, into the ice-fields : fog, sleet, hurricanes. The Norfolk boy saw many marvels then. He watched the resourceful Cook procuring fresh water from the ice-encrusted riggings ; he gazed up at icebergs towering a hundred feet above the ship ; he saw with wonder a

¹ p. 185.

shot penguin, and tried its weight and marvelled at it. But he also knew what it was to freeze, to chew weevil-infested biscuit, to wash in briny water. The two ships were then in the latitude of $67^{\circ} 15' S$. It was their farthest south.

An apocryphal story describes how, the order to steer north having been given by Cook, young Vancouver climbed out along the ice-bound bowsprit, and thereafter claimed to have been nearer the South Pole than any other man.

From the Antarctic the two ships made their way to New Zealand, but separated. When Cook anchored in Dusky Bay they had been one hundred and seventeen days without sight of land and had sailed no less than 3,660 leagues. Here Vancouver saw the first of those people of the Great Pacific nation with whom, seventeen years later, he was to have many transactions.

In the spring the *Resolution* sailed for Queen Charlotte Sound, where she found her consort, and the two ships left there in company.

Lieutenant Clerke wrote in his log: 'Our people are all in perfect health and spirits, owing, I believe, in a great measure, to the strict attention of Captain Cook to their cleanliness, and every other article that respects their welfare.' Cook had, indeed, fought off the scurvy by scientific dietetic measures, with *sauerkraut*, cabbage, marmalade of carrot, malt, mustard and portable broth. But by the end of June the crew of the *Adventure* were smitten down; one man, the cook, was dead of it, and twenty more were incapacitated. On the *Resolution*, however, only two men were sick, and the explanation may be that Cook had greater power to enforce his will than Clerke, for the men hated the new-fangled food and took it only under pressure.

Cook immediately decided to make for Tahiti, and that island was reached in August. He next sailed for New Zealand, but once more the *Resolution* lost her consort.

During the next two years, in December and January, two further attempts were made to find the mysterious continent of the geographers, and each failed. In 1774 Cook penetrated to $71^{\circ} 10' \text{ S.}$, long. $106^{\circ} 54' \text{ W.}$ 'I will not say it was impossible anywhere to get farther to the south'; he wrote, 'but the attempting of it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of.'

Before the *Resolution* had rounded Cape Horn Vancouver, now seventeen years of age, had visited New Zealand, the Society Isles, the Marquesas, New Hebrides and New Caledonia. He had watched, fascinated and revolted, with the men of the *Resolution*, a cannibal boil and eat part of a human head, and Cook records how this spectacle made some of his men sick. He had watched in awed fascination the travelling pillars of mighty water-spouts; had felt the deck tremble and heave as a mighty submarine convulsion shook the sea-bed; he had seen men killed, had seen men die, had seen men flogged. For three impressionable years he had seen no white woman, had known no comfort, had had no chance for idleness.

The full story of this memorable voyage has been given by Cook himself. When the *Resolution* reached Portsmouth on the 29th July, 1775, she was without her consort, for the *Adventure* had run for shelter in a storm into Queen Charlotte Sound where her cutter had been attacked by natives and its crew murdered. She had arrived in England a fortnight before the *Resolution*.

So far as the discovery which was one of the main objectives of the expedition was concerned, Cook failed. He not only failed to discover the continent, but doubted its existence. 'If I have failed in discovering a continent,' he wrote from Table Bay, 'it is because it does not exist in a navigable sea, and not for want of looking after: insurmountable difficulties were the bounds to my researches to the south.' But he had made a voyage of

discovery in the Southern Hemisphere without parallel in the history of navigation.

Some seventy years later Sir James Clark Russell penetrated to lat. $78^{\circ} 4'$ and discovered the continent, and saw in amazement two volcanoes 'belching fire and débris upon eternal ice and snow.'

The effects of this tremendous experience on Vancouver no doubt did much to shape his character, and determine the course of his career. He had learnt to endure great hardship and, more than likely, had suffered physically far more than any boy should. But more significant for him was the three years' experience of daily contact at close quarters with a man of the stature of Cook. Throughout his life thereafter, as will be seen, Cook was Vancouver's model as man and seaman; he venerated his memory until the last, lost no chance of paying tribute to his work as explorer and navigator, and reveals in his own great *Voyage of Discovery* a whole-hearted loyalty and jealousy for Cook's good name as man and as navigator that touch the heart of the reader, over and over again.

Cook taught Vancouver that the good commander looks after his men. He demolished the old heresy that scurvy was the incurable curse of the sailorman and proved it a fallacy by conquering it by scientific dieting. He demonstrated the virtues of sanitation and fumigation, and set upon the impressionable mind of the youth the unforgettable lesson of an unswerving courage and steadfastness of purpose in the face of danger and difficulty, and fundamental honesty in the performance of work.

In learning the rudiments of his profession under Cook, Vancouver was fortunate. He was fortunate, too, in making thus early the acquaintance of William Wales. Wales accompanied the expedition as astronomer. At this time he was nearing forty years of age. He had been sent by the Board of Longitude, with William Bayly, to superintend the astronomical observations. Wales was a man of

kindly disposition who liked young people ; he was also a born teacher. During these three years Vancouver must have learned much of the scientific side of his profession from the astronomer.¹

When the *Resolution* anchored off Spithead, Vancouver had only a month before celebrated his eighteenth birthday. He was by this time well-grown, not tall, but lithe and well-knit of frame. His eyes were blue-grey, already the eyes of a sailor, steadfast and remote. His complexion, fair and delicately-coloured, was beginning to show signs of weathering ; but the face with the wide brow, delicate, small nose and well-modelled mouth, suggested the dreamer rather than the man of action. He returned to his home to find that his father had died two years before. He had left home a boy : he returned as a seasoned and experienced sailor who could make the boast, and one worth making then, of having circumnavigated the world with Cook.

¹ p. 185.

CHAPTER II

With Cook to Hawaii

1776-1780

THE BOARD OF LONGITUDE

COOK's and Vancouver's famous voyages of discovery were accomplished at a period when the science of geography was entering upon a new epoch. They were among the first of the great scientific navigators whose great charts, marvels of painstaking labour under incredible difficulties, and of astonishing accuracy, superseded the incomplete, inaccurate and sometimes faked charts of earlier navigators and of certain contemporary Munchausens.

Geographic exploration involves other sciences. It calls for accurate knowledge of the relations of the earth to the sun and stars, some mathematics, physics and geology. For long the world had accepted Ptolemy as the final authority; and the old Nuremberg geographers, reckoning with Marco Polo's wanderings in the land of the Kubla Khan, constructed their globes upon Ptolemy's tables. One result of this was that Columbus expected to make a landfall of the coast of China by steering a course 120° W., and thus came unexpectedly upon the Atlantic seaboard of North America.

The urgent need for some scientific method of determining longitude was recognised even before the eighteenth century, but it was then that strenuous efforts were being made to discover it.

Many Governments offered large rewards to the first inventor to solve this problem, and many curious schemes were devised. Whiston and Ditton, for example, at the

beginning of the eighteenth century, had proposed permanent floating lightships at fixed points on the trade routes firing star-shells at coded intervals as the modern lighthouse flashes its time signals. This project stimulated interest in the problem, and resulted in a petition to Parliament on 25th March, 1714, by 'several Captains of Her Majesty's ships' urging the importance of obtaining some method of finding the longitude and asking for a public reward. A committee was appointed that included Newton and Halley. By 12 Anne, cap. 15, an Act was passed authorising money rewards up to £20,000, the condition being that the test voyage from Britain to the West Indies should be performed without erring in longitude more than by a specified margin of error.

This bait had the desired effect, and many aspirants applied themselves to the problem. In Pontefract, Yorkshire, John Harrison¹ experimented with watches with the object of diminishing error. He invented the first chronometer with compensating apparatus for correcting errors arising from climatic variations. His chronometer was tested on a voyage from England to Jamaica in 1761-2, and it was proved to determine the longitude within eighteen miles. Harrison received £20,000 for this invention.

Aboard the test ship, as official referee of the test, was Nevil Maskelyne, F.R.S., who had been recently appointed to the Board of Longitude and was the following year appointed Astronomer Royal. Maskelyne checked John Harrison's invention, and followed it soon after with his own prismatic micrometer and thus brought the lunar method into general use.

In the Introduction to his *Voyage of Discovery* Vancouver wrote: 'By the introduction of nautical astronomy into marine education, we are taught to sail on the hypotenuse, instead of traversing two sides of a triangle, which was the

¹ p. 186.

usage in earlier times ; by this means, the circuitous course of all voyages from place to place is considerably shortened. . . .’

These facts will make clear to those unacquainted with the subject the extraordinary pre-occupation of Vancouver with his chronometers and astronomical observations during the long years he was to spend in exploration.

He was to become a brilliant scientific navigator ; but at the moment he is merely a midshipman at the end of one great voyage and about to embark upon another.

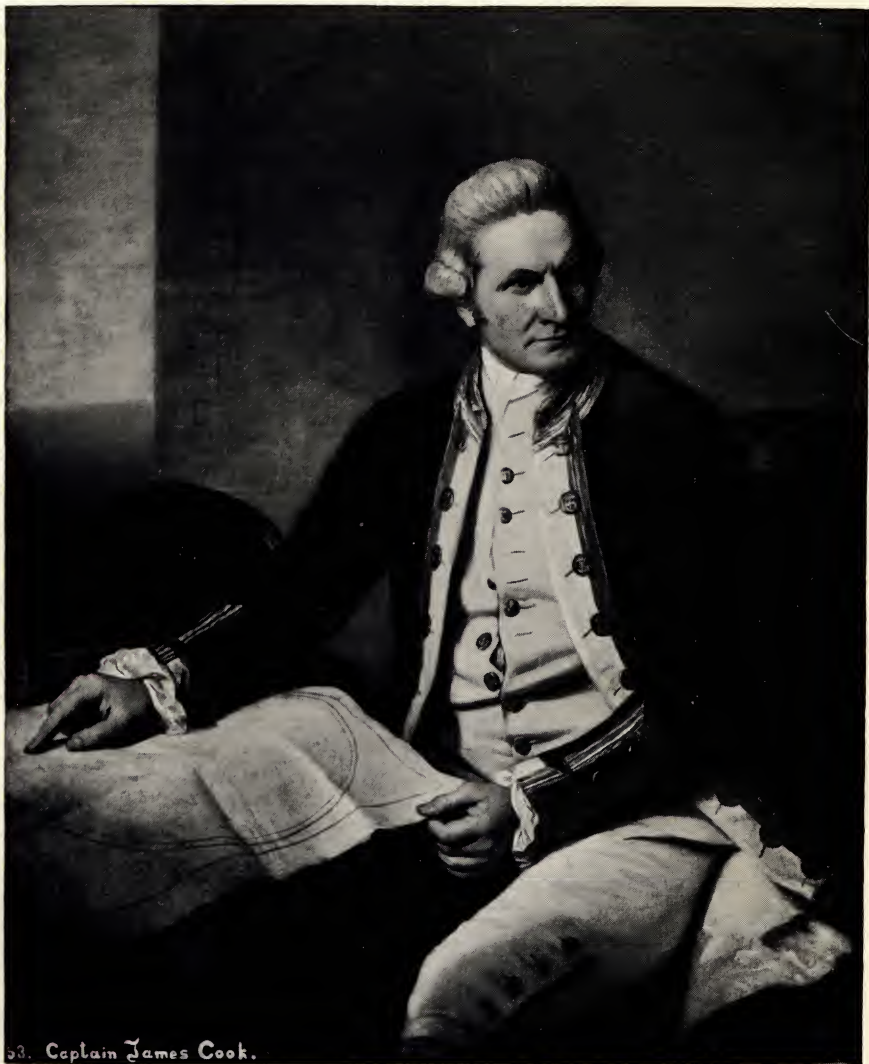
Let us return to him.

COOK’S LAST VOYAGE

Early in the year 1776, Vancouver left his home in Norfolk and posted to Plymouth by way of London. He was now a lean, well-built youth of medium height, fair and grey-eyed, with the well-modelled features of his brother John, whom he resembled on a more virile scale.

At Plymouth, Vancouver reported on board the *Discovery*, and learnt that her commander, Captain Clerke, was not aboard, having taken refuge in the Fleet Prison from pressing creditors. He found, however, an unexpected addition to the ship’s company in Omai, a Society Islander whom Captain Furneaux had brought to London as a kind of exhibit, where he had proved a great attraction and had even been presented at Court.

The *Discovery* was ready for the long voyage, the preparations that had been going forward were now nearing completion, stores, water, animals and seeds for propagation in the South Seas were stowed away, and in her hold were also many articles from the new factories of the Midlands, then springing up everywhere—for these were the days of the Industrial Revolution, and hands used to hoe and plough were learning to mind machines. Cheap mirrors, nails,



CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

From the painting by Nathaniel Dance, R.A.

Reproduced by courtesy of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty

axes and many other articles were to introduce to the South Sea islanders the marvels of modern civilisation.

The principal officers of the two ships were :

Resolution

Lieutenants : John Gore, James King,
John Williamson.

Master : William Bligh.

Surgeon : William Anderson.

Lieutenant Royal Marines : Molesworth Philips.

Discovery

Lieutenants : James Burney, John Rickman.

Master : Thomas Edgar.

Surgeon : John Law.

On the 30th of June the *Resolution* arrived from the Nore with Cook on board. She had been overhauled at Deptford, and, like her consort, carried every possible aid to the big business on hand.

It had been decided by the Government to ascertain, one way or the other, the truth concerning that North West Passage, which, originating mysteriously in the legend of the chimerical Straits of Anian, had been embroidered by many mariners with stories rich in circumstantial detail. It was an ambition two hundred years old. And now Government had sought to stimulate interest by the offer of £20,000 to the first ship to make the passage, and had thrown this offer open to the Navy.

The *Resolution* sailed down-Channel in the summer of the year 1776, bound for this hypothetical opening that should link the Pacific with Hudson Bay, or, by way of Bering Strait and the Arctic, come out far north into the Atlantic Ocean. The *Discovery* lay awaiting her commander. The big expenditure of time and money involved made it essential for every possible crumb of knowledge to be gathered on

the route, and for this reason Cook's instructions were to cruise first about the Southern Pacific annexing his discoveries, planting his seeds, putting ashore his animals and establishing trading relations with the inhabitants.

It will be seen that a good deal was expected of the commander of a voyage of discovery in those days, for Cook was expected to discover "that which had never been discovered before" and was not to be discovered for another forty-seven years; to make complete records of astronomical observations (he had with him no astronomical observer, but acted for himself); to chart the South Sea islands discovered, and, sailing north to the North-West coast of America, not only to search for the disputed passage, but also to chart that vast and intricate coastline.

During the brief years he had been at home he had been honoured in many ways. He had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and appointed Captain of Greenwich Hospital, had been received by the King and promoted post-captain. He had received the Copley Gold medal for his paper on the prevention of scurvy, and, last, he had written up his copious diary.

The voyage of these two famous ships is too well known to be more than very briefly outlined here.

The *Discovery* arrived at the Cape of Good Hope three weeks after the *Resolution*, where both ships fitted out for their exploration of the South Seas. In December they set sail for New Zealand. On reaching Van Diemen's Land they took in water and made repairs and brought forth their wares to trade with the natives. These people, being totally uncivilised, examined the products of England's factories and cast them down in contempt.

Cook noted this unexpected behaviour in surprise and attributed it to their complete barbarism, a barbarism further evidenced by their refusal to eat freshly cooked fish.¹

¹ This refusal of the natives to touch fish may have been from fear of leprosy.

With the New Year they sailed for New Zealand, and there Vancouver had an opportunity of watching how Cook handled the natives who came out to them. Nevertheless it was here, in Queen Charlotte's Sound, that the boat's crew of the *Adventure* had been killed in the fracas already mentioned, so that it was no more than plain sense that Cook should go to investigate the cause of that disaster well armed. Cook, having heard the natives' account of it, humanely refrained from reprisals—a clemency that belies the character for brutality given him by certain writers.

The ships sailed in February for the North. They visited the Society Islands (Otaihiti). Omai was repatriated, provided with a house on Huahaine, the island of his choice, and presented with a stallion, mare and other animals and goods. After months in the languorous climate of the Southern Pacific, the crews of both ships were in splendid health. On the voyage to the North-West coast Christmas Island and the Sandwich Islands were discovered and named, though Hawaii and other isles to the east were not seen until Cook's next and final visit. From the Sandwich Islands the expedition sailed for the North-West coast upon the prime objective of their voyage—the discovery of the North-West Passage. New Albion was sighted on the 7th of March, and the two ships then began to creep along the coast in the teeth of bad weather, with diminishing food supplies. Cape Foulweather was seen and named, and the unsuspected mouth of the great Columbia River was passed, until on the 24th of April the two ships were at historic Nootka. From Nootka the real search for the North-West Passage took Cook as far north as $69^{\circ} 36'$, where he gave the name Icy Cape to his farthest north, and there abandoned his search and steered for the Sandwich Islands.

During this exploration Cook adopted a method later followed by Vancouver in his more detailed examination of

this vast coast—that is, he pushed his ships as far as he safely could at each point to be examined and sent from them boat parties to penetrate as far as possible.

In his *Third Voyage* Cook does not refer to Vancouver anywhere, but we know that Vancouver was present on the beach when Cook met his death at Kealahakua Bay, Hawaii, and although he never set down the circumstances himself, the part he took in the *mêlée* with the natives is accessible from another source. Thomas Edgar, master of the *Discovery*, who narrowly escaped death himself, committed to paper an artless account of that tragedy that is in many ways more valuable than the *full-dress* versions prepared by other officers for official publication.¹ It is printed at the end of the Appendix to this volume.

THE ILL-STARRED VENTURE

Cook dead, the leadership devolved upon Captain Clerke; but Clerke had long been failing from consumption, and he died in the following August. On 4th of October, 1780, the ships reached home. They had been at sea a year longer than the projected period.

Those who were first aboard the two ships at the Nore saw a fantastic sight. Men and officers, so long accustomed to their condition as to be unaware of the strangeness of it, were seen to be clad in ancient apparel, relics of old uniforms patched with skins and supplemented by the gaudy silks and cottons of China.

This great voyage, so rich in discoveries, was marred throughout by great misfortunes and minor vexations; even on the final run home the battered ships were forced from their course by contrary winds. Ireland was sighted on 4th August, they anchored at Stromness on the 22nd, finally reaching the Nore on 4th of October. The voyage from the Equator to the sighting of Ireland had lasted two

¹ p. 289.



RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY IN NOOTKA SOUND, APRIL, 1778

From a water-colour drawing by John Webber, the artist of the expedition, in the Admiralty Library, showing the men cutting wood and watering, and the observatories on the elevated rock, as described in Cook's 'Voyage of Discovery,'



months to the day ; the last few miles occupied seven full weeks.

Vancouver was now twenty-three years of age, and few seamen in history could at that age claim so rich an experience of the sea. He had been almost continuously afloat for eight years, and that time had been spent with Captain Cook. He was thus soundly grounded in his profession on the practical side of seamanship and the scientific side of pure navigation, surveying and map-making. He had seen 2,400 miles of difficult coast laid down by a master. And, as will be seen, he had made good use of his opportunities.

To complete his all-round experience as a naval officer he needed but the supreme experience of active service.

He was not to wait long for that.

CHAPTER III

With Rodney and Gardner

1780-1790

THE JAMAICA STATION

DURING their three years' absence the two ships had had little or no news of world affairs. Thus, when Vancouver stepped ashore on that grey October day, he had much to hear and more to digest. At the Nore an air of sullenness pervaded the service. He heard talk of a growing discontent, of complaints against the bad pay, bad food and harsh discipline. Impressed men were everywhere and stories of the activities of the press-gangs were told with bitterness.

If the Government had spared neither money nor thought to equip Cook's ships, the official attitude towards the senior service was generally very different. There was talk already in 1780 of trouble. The spirit of mutiny moved among the ships of the Nore and went in and out of the inns of Sheerness and Deptford.

Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, posthumously honoured by Cook all unawares, had been two years dead. Lord North was in power with two years to go, Sheridan was just returned to Parliament as a supporter of Fox and had but recently delivered himself of a State paper against the French enemy. The course of the War of Independence had passed the crucial stage, and its conclusion had been rendered inevitable by the siege of Lord Cornwallis in Yorktown and the defeat of the English fleet by the brilliant French admiral, de Grasse. The morale of the revolting colonists had been further stimulated by the publication of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* and similar inflammatory

literature. Holland had just joined the Franco-Spanish alliance, Gibraltar had been attacked by land and sea and saved narrowly by the red-hot balls of General Eliott and the victory of Rodney at St. Vincent. The English command of the sea, built up and established during the previous hundred years, was in jeopardy.

At home the star of Pitt the Younger was rising steadily into the political sky. He had studied and digested the *Wealth of Nations*, though already people were talking less of its author, then busy on his scheme to devise some method of saving America for England. The Rev. Edmund Cartwright, in his rectory at Goadby Marwood, Leicestershire, was already thinking out the details of the power loom, and Hargreaves, Arkwright and James Watt were forging the mechanical instruments of the Industrial Revolution.

Vancouver found Roman Catholics now free to celebrate mass and acquire land ; Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* was on everybody's table ; Gibbon was soon to issue the second and third volumes of his *Decline and Fall*.

Vancouver passed his examination as lieutenant on 19th October of this crucial year and on 9th December was appointed to the *Martin* sloop, a sixth rate. But soon he found himself with the West Indian fleet of twelve ships of the line under Rodney, who had but recently returned from the West Indies where he had seized St. Eustatia and the Dutch settlements, as lieutenant on the *Fame*, commanded by Captain Barbor. In that month the fleet sailed for the West Indies to try conclusions with the Franco-Spanish fleets. And here it may be noted that, as Cook had but one experience of active service and went into action only once, so, too, Vancouver's whole sea service was spent in exploration with this one exception.

Rodney came up with Hood, his second in command, at Barbadoes on the 19th of February. It was the objective of de Grasse to join up with the Spanish fleet. Rodney,
Cv

however, brought de Grasse to action before he could carry out his scheme of operations. De Grasse declined to fight and sailed away; Rodney, however, went in pursuit and came up with the French fleet. This was the skirmish that was the prelude to battle. On this 12th April, 1782, was fought off the coast of Dominica the Battle of the Saints, one of the great naval battles of history, just twenty years after Rodney's capture of Martinique, St. Lucia and Grenada. The wind was against the French and Rodney was thus able to pass through the enemy's lines. The French fleet was defeated after a twelve hours' battle with very heavy casualties, and de Grasse himself was captured, with his flagship, *Ville de Paris*, and six other ships, and brought back to England. The sea menace of the Franco-Spanish alliance was at an end.

The *Fame*, 74 guns, upon which Vancouver served in this great battle, was one of the rear division under the command of Rear-Admiral Francis Drake who, a year before, had blockaded Martinique. Her casualties must be reckoned surprisingly light since but three were killed and twelve wounded out of her complement of 600 men. It is said that in the battle the losses were as one to nine in the two fleets.

Vancouver returned to England and was appointed to the *Europa*, a fourth rate, 50 guns, 337 men, under the command of Captain R. A. James and, later, Captain Fisher. At the end of 1784 the *Europa* was at Spithead refitting. She sailed for the Jamaica station, under command of Captain Innes, on the 27th of December, and during the next two years Vancouver continued to serve in the West Indies. In 1786 the station was under the command of Pakenham until June, when Gardner, who later became Vancouver's patron, took over. During this time, by order of Admiral Gardner, he surveyed Port Royal and Kingston Harbour, the beautifully drawn chart, now in the Admiralty Library and hitherto unnoticed by Vancouver's biographers, bearing

ample evidence of the pains which Vancouver bestowed upon this task. It was made by him and Whidbey, his assistant, who was to spend many adventurous years at sea with him. The *Europa* was at this time commanded by Captain Fisher, and continued under his command until November, when Captain James Vashon was in command. A month later, Vancouver was appointed to the *Expedition*, a fifth rate, under Chetwynd, and in her continued until October of the following year, when he returned to the *Europa* under Gardner and Vashon. Gardner remained with the *Europa* until 1788, and in the following year Vancouver sailed home in her. In September of 1789 the *Europa* was paid off at Plymouth and she was not commissioned during the next three years.

CHAPTER IV

The Nootka Affair

THE GRAND ARMAMENT

IN 1789 the Government decided to send a scientific expedition to the South Seas and the North-West coast of America. Captain Henry Roberts, who had sailed under Cook in the last two voyages and had been frequently eulogised by his commander, was appointed to the command. The ship chosen for this expedition was the sloop *Discovery*, then building. She was bought before completion in the yards of Randall & Brent on the Thames.¹ Vancouver was appointed second in command on the warm recommendation of his former commanding officer, Commodore Gardner, who spoke highly of him both to Lord Chatham personally and to the Board of Admiralty.

Vancouver was delighted, both with the prospect of further exploration and with the choice of commander, for he wrote :

‘In this proposal I acquiesced, and found myself very pleasantly situated, in being thus connected with a fellow traveller for whose abilities I bore the greatest respect, and in whose friendship and good opinion I was proud to possess a place. And as we had sailed together with Captain Cook on his voyage towards the South Pole, and as both had afterwards accompanied him with Captain Clerke in the *Discovery* during his last voyage, I had no doubt that we were engaged in an expedition, which would prove no less interesting to my friend than agreeable to my wishes.’

¹ p. 187.

Vancouver tells us that towards the end of April 1790, the *Discovery* was nearly ready for sea and, 'in most respects, in a condition to proceed down the river,' a statement to which further reference will be made. And he proceeds to explain the causes that resulted in the cancellation of the projected expedition :

'On the 30th April, England was thrown into a state of intense war fever by the prospect of a renewal of hostilities with Spain. On that day, John Meares, a Pacific fur-trader, formerly of the Navy,¹ filed a Memorial with Parliament in which he made startling allegations against the Spanish, whom he charged with seizing his ships and property at Nootka, on the Pacific coast.

'This intelligence gave rise to disputes between the Courts of London and Madrid which wore the threatening appearance of being terminated by no other means than those of reprisal. In consequence of this an armament took place, and the further pacific equipment of the *Discovery* was suspended ; her stores and provisions were returned to the respective offices and her officers and men engaged in more active service. On this occasion I resumed my profession under my highly esteemed friend Sir Alan Gardner, then Captain of the *Courageaux*, where I remained until the 17th of November following, when I was ordered to repair to town for the purpose of attending to the commands of the Board of Admiralty.'

The so-named Spanish Armament was, indeed, one of the most impressive demonstrations of strength in naval history. Spain, advised of the vast fleet being organised by England, sought anxiously for an alliance to strengthen her hand, but 'the uncommon celerity and unparalleled despatch which attended the equipment of one of the noblest fleets that Great Britain ever saw,' Vancouver tells us, 'had probably its due influence upon the Court of Madrid, for in the Spanish Convention, which was consequent upon that

¹ p. 188.

armament, restitution was offered to this country for the captures and aggressions made by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty ; together with an acknowledgment of an equal right with Spain to the exercise and prosecution of all commercial undertakings in those seas, reputed before to belong only to the Spanish Crown.'

Vancouver, writing some years after the events, is not quite accurate in certain details. The dispute between England and Spain over the seizure of the British ships at Nootka by the Spaniard Martinez, was not caused, as Vancouver suggests, by Meares' flamboyant Memorial, but merely brought to a head by it. News of the affair had already reached Madrid from Mexico, and Anthony Merry, the British chargé d'affaires at the Spanish Court, had passed a report to London upon it as early as January—that is, four months before Meare's return from Nootka.

Towards the end of January, Merry forwarded to London details of the Spanish establishment at Nootka, and the nature of its armaments, and on the 10th of February, the Marquis del Campo, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote to the Duke of Leeds setting forth the Spanish title to the disputed port of San Lorenzo (Nootka), namely, right by priority of discovery, and enjoining the English in peremptory terms to leave Spain in peaceable possession of it.

The Duke of Leeds replied that he purposed waiting further particulars, and that adequate satisfaction would be demanded of Spain for the illegal seizure of the British ships.

Now, Nootka was a remote settlement upon the little-known North-West coast, a place few people had ever heard of. But Nootka was also the centre for the sea-otter trade, and the Spanish claim to it merely symbolised her pretensions to sovereignty over the whole Northern Pacific seaboard. The issue between the two countries, therefore, was a very big one indeed.

*Spanish
claim*

Vancouver, writing in the introduction to his *Voyage of Discovery*, surprisingly says that towards the end of April 1790, the *Discovery* was nearly ready for sea and in most respects in a condition to proceed down the river. This suggests that within a week of the presentation of a Cabinet address to the King, that led four days later to an ultimatum to Spain, the peaceable expedition to the South Seas was still actively going forward. We know, however, that it was not, for, in March, Lord Grenville had sent a despatch to Governor Phillip of Port Jackson,¹ New Holland, outlining an entirely new expedition in which the *Discovery*, the *Gorgon* and the *Sirius* were to take part in the establishment of an English settlement on the North-West coast; and it was to be a settlement prepared to meet with force any interference from natives or Spaniards. Hitherto this projected military expedition, which, like the initial pacific enterprise, came to nothing, has been overlooked.

The capitulation of Spain in the face of the vast fleet England had hurriedly assembled off Spithead, made such an expedition unnecessary and it was cancelled like its predecessor.

This treaty, signed on the 28th October, 1790, made an end of the Spanish claim to sole sovereign rights over American waters north of the Gulf of California, a claim that had not been disputed for more than a century. Fur-traders came constantly into the Spanish waters, and although the Court of Madrid feared for this vast territory, it was too supine to do any of the overt acts that in their sum constitute annexation and settlement. Already the spirit of *mañana* was sapping the vitality of a once great people. The indifference of Spain to this vast unexplored territory is probably explained by her preoccupation with the quest for gold and the commonly held theory that the nearer the Equator the better the chances of finding it.

¹ p. 189.

In any event, only a few quite inadequate efforts were made to push north. And of these the most energetic was that of Hecata and Quadra, two great Spanish sea captains, in 1775. When Vancouver first sailed these waters with Cook three years after the Hecata and Quadra voyage, the coast had not been surveyed to any extent save for the magnificent work of Cook, nor were there any settlements worthy of the name. Spain was playing absentee landlord. Her policy of inaction and ineptitude brought about its inevitable nemesis.

Supposed
Vancouver was ordered to attend the Board of Admiralty, when he was informed that yet another expedition was to be organised. Its main purpose would be to proceed to Nootka, 'to receive back, in form, a restitution of the territories on which the Spaniards had seized, and also to make an accurate survey of the coast, from the 30th degree of north latitude north-westward towards Cook's river; and further, to obtain every possible information that could be collected respecting the natural and political state of that country.'

THE 'DISCOVERY' AND 'CHATHAM'

When Vancouver left the Admiralty he had received his appointment as commander of that important mission, which was really the first projected expedition with its scope enlarged to include the delicate international negotiation at Nootka, and the survey of the North-West American coast, the full terms of which are set out in his instructions. Those instructions, as will transpire later, were to involve Vancouver in a serious dilemma, for they directed him to carry out two duties, performance of either one of which precluded any attempt of the other. He was directed to take over Nootka from the Spanish and to occupy it; and he was also directed to carry out a tremendous survey of the North-West American coast. In other words, the

Admiralty called upon Vancouver to be in two places at once. The drafter of these instructions obviously did not perceive the unreasonable demands made by them, and neither did Vancouver, then far too busy with a vast amount of detail work and only just convalescent from a serious illness. When he did appreciate the serious difficulty in which he had been placed, Vancouver was in a situation remote from authority and opportunity to request further instructions. Meanwhile, he had been promoted commander on 15th December, 1790. This command of the Nootka Expedition was the turning-point of Vancouver's career, because it was his great opportunity and he took it. During the next four years he was to make discoveries that stand out in a century of great voyages of discovery and place its commander among the greatest of eighteenth-century explorers.

'At this juncture,' he wrote, 'it appeared to be of importance, that all possible exertion should be made in its equipment; and as the *Discovery*, which had been selected on the former occasion, was now rigged, some of her stores provided, and she herself considered, in most respects, as a vessel well calculated for the voyage under contemplation, she was accordingly directed to be got ready for that service; and the *Chatham* armed tender, of 135 tons burthen, built at Dover, having been destined to accompany the *Discovery* on the former occasion, was ordered to be equipped to attend on the voyage now to be undertaken, and was sent to Woolwich to receive such necessary repairs and alterations as were deemed necessary.'

The experience of Rear-Admiral Carteret, who, as a lieutenant, had circumnavigated the world in the *Swallow*, a scandalously ill-found and unseaworthy ship, and the similar avoidable sufferings of Wallis, had wakened the conscience of the country towards its seamen. Vancouver describes how 'The Board of Admiralty, greatly attentive to our personal comforts, gave directions that the *Discovery*

and *Chatham* should each be supplied with all such articles as might be considered in any way likely to become necessary, during the execution of the long and arduous service in which we were about to engage. Our stores, from the naval arsenals, were ordered to be selected of the very best sorts, and to be made with materials of the best quality.'

This might be dismissed as the conventional language of a naval officer writing at the expense of the Admiralty, but for the following letter :

' Victualling Office
28th Dec. 1790.

' SIR,

' Having received orders to cause His Majesty's Armed Tender *Chatham*, under your command at Deptford, which is ordered to be fitted out at Woolwich for a voyage to remote parts—to be victualled to twelve months of all species of Provisions except Beer of which she is to have as much as she can conveniently stow, and supplied with Wine or Spirits in lieu of the remainder, for her complement mentioned on the other side, for Foreign Service :—We desire you will let us know the quantity of each species necessary for that purpose, and when she will be ready for the receiving thereof, in order to our sending the same on board :—and we beg you will be very particular in describing the sizes of the casks the *Chatham* can best stow.

' We are,

' Sir,

' Your most hum servts

' G. P. LOWRY

' S. MARSHALL

' W. BOSCAWN

' FRED STEPHENS

' To the Commander *Chatham* armed tender
Deptford.'



By courtesy of

A VIEW OF DEPTFORD DOCKYARD
BY THOMAS ROWLANDSON

Messrs. Francis Edwards, Ltd.

Among the stores carried by the two ships were seines and fishing tackle, *sauerkraut*, portable soup, wheat instead of the usual supply of oatmeal for breakfast, the essence of malt and spruce, malt, hops, dried yeast, flour, and seed mustard, Dr. James's powders, vitriolic elixir, rob of lemons and oranges, Peruvian bark. In addition they carried 'a large assortment of various European commodities, both of a useful and ornamental nature,' four well-contrived three-pound field pieces for protection against hostile natives, and fireworks for such as should prove friendly.¹ They also carried the latest designs of chronometers and other scientific apparatus, and, last, Toweroo, a Sandwich Islander who had been brought to England by Captain Charles Duncan on the *Prince of Wales* and who was to be repatriated just as was Cook's Islander. This man was the commander's ward, apparently; for in a letter to the Admiralty, 3rd March, 1791, Vancouver adds this postscript regarding him: 'In providing for Tawrower, native of the Sandwich Islands, have laid out near £55, and could not, decently, do it for less, therefore have not much above five guineas for his use hereafter, which I think too little. . . . ' The two ships were, in fact, splendidly equipped.

The selection of junior officers was left to Vancouver, and the men he chose prove him to have been a good judge of men. The illustrious names that appear upon the muster rolls of both ships prove as much.² There was one young gentleman, the Honble. Thomas Pitt, however, whom Vancouver probably did not select, or, if he did so, lived to regret the choice. As the objects of the expedition were to cover as wide a field of scientific discovery as possible, the *Discovery* carried a botanist, Archibald Menzies, a physician and surgeon and naturalist of note. Menzies was appointed in the last-named capacity, though later he had to act as surgeon.³

¹ p. 191.² pp. 192-6.³ p. 197.

There was, however, one weakness in the expedition: the *Chatam* was a bad ship.

By the 7th of January, 1791, Vancouver received his instructions and on that day the *Discovery* went down river from Deptford. It was her maiden voyage and Vancouver watched her behaviour with a keen eye. Trouble began soon after the Nore was left behind. Rough weather met her in the Channel and the bumpkins and a considerable part of her head were washed away; while John Brown, one of the carpenter's mates, fell overboard and was drowned.

ENGLAND TO THE CAPE

At Spithead, Vancouver had the necessary repairs made while he returned to London,¹ rejoined his command at Portsmouth and sailed for Falmouth.

Vancouver has been described as a harsh and arbitrary commander who resorted to the lash for every trivial breach of discipline. And, it is true, as the logs prove, the lash was used with frequency on this expedition. But the lash was the routine punishment of the Navy in those days, and in ordering it, Vancouver merely administered the punishments laid down by Regulations. Moreover, a comparison of the two extracts given below suggests that the commander of the *Chatam* thought no more of corporal punishment than his senior on the *Discovery*.

A log kept by V. V. Ballard, an A.B. in the *Discovery*, is interesting in this connection because it suggests that there were among the crew a few tough characters who were persistent offenders. For these men, life must have been anything but pleasant.

Walter Dillon, a seaman, receives three dozen lashes for

drunkenness and riotous behaviour on the 24th of June, 1791; and the following day two dozen more.

John Glasspole, a marine, appears to have been a persistent thief. On 24th of May he receives twenty-four for that offence; and again twelve on the 31st of July. The following year, 25th of February, he gets twelve lashes for drunkenness.

The chief offences appear to have been insubordination, drunkenness, theft, fighting and neglect of duty. The thefts were probably mostly raids upon the hold for liquor, rather than thefts from shipmates. Thus, on the 27th of June, 1791, two seamen were flogged for 'breaking in and stealing liquor out of the hold.' As time goes on, the recurring of such offences as insolence, drunkenness and fighting reflect the deterioration of the morale of the weary ships' companies.

EXTRACT from log of the *Discovery*: Vancouver.

Wed. Sept 14. 1791. (C. of Good Hope to New Holland).
Punished John Rag(y?)bold Armourer with 10 lashes for Disobedience of Orders.

Sat. Sept. 24th '91.

Punished James Bailey Seaman with 10 (?) Lashes for neglect of Duty & John Carter Seaman with 1 Dozen for Theft.

Jan. 18. '92.

Stephens and Langley two Marines were sent on board the Chatham & punished for sleeping on their posts.

EXTRACT from log of the *Chatham*: Broughton.

Friday Sept 7 '92.

Punishd. Davd. Donnel, Cooper with 12 lashes for Sleeping in his watch & Chas Mackell, Seaman with 12 lashes for Drunkenness.

Wed. May 1. '93.

Punish'd David Domand (?) Seaman with 12 lashes for neglect of duty.

Sat. 1 June '93.

Punish'd Jno Rycraft, Seaman, with 12 Lashes for attempting to carry stores out of the ship.

Wed. 18 June '93.

Punished Willm Howard, Seaman & John Langley, Marine, with 12 Lashes each, for Quarrelsome behaviour.

It is necessary to bear in mind the position of the commander of such an expedition in those days; the vast distances and the long duration. To hold a ship's company called for first-class powers of command. The eighteenth-century sailor was not a person to sentimentalise about, and weakness in a commander meant mutiny and an ugly death.

At Falmouth the *Discovery* had to await her consort, and there already friction began between the officers of the gun-room and Mr. Menzies, the naturalist. The dispute centred about mess dues, and Menzies took umbrage at Vancouver's refusal to refer the dispute to 'an impartial judge acquainted with the rules of the Navy,' and wrote bitterly to his patron, Sir Joseph Banks.¹

This contretemps probably began the constraint between Menzies and Vancouver, which broke out on two later occasions, as will transpire. Banks, who had sailed with Cook in the *Endeavour* (1768-71), had evidently no fondness for Vancouver. Writing to Menzies on 10th of August, 1791, he remarks ominously: 'How Vancouver will behave to you is more than I can guess, unless I was to judge by his conduct towards me—which was not such as I am used to receive from persons in his situation. . . .'

¹ p. 201.

Vancouver appears to have settled this dispute, however, for, writing to the Secretary of the Admiralty on 31st March, 1791, from 'St. Hellen's Road,' he says : 'I have the pleasure to inform you that I have at length been able to establish *a thorough* reconsiliation between the Gentlemen of the gun-room Mess and Mr. Menzies, which I assure you affords me no small satisfaction. . . .'

CHAPTER V

Start of the Great Voyage

1791-1795

ENGLAND TO THE CAPE

ON 1st April the two ships finally sailed.¹ Lieutenant Broughton had already had his first taste of his ship in the passage from Spithead when 'she had proved so very crank, as, in some instances, to occasion considerable alarm.' Vancouver had his shot put aboard the *Chatham* to save the delay involved in shifting her ballast, and the two ships sailed on 'a gentle breeze from the N.E. at day dawn on Friday the 1st of April, out of Carrick road. The Lizard lights bore by compass N.N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. about eight leagues; and the wind being in the western quarter, we stood to the southward.' This, one of the first entries in Vancouver's log, shows his preoccupation with navigation, a preoccupation that now and then resulted in his missing phenomena not obtainable by the use of scientific instruments, but dependent on the intelligent use of the unaided eyes.

It was not an altogether propitious departure, and the commander wrote: 'The remote and barbarous regions, which were now destined, for some years, to be our transitory places of abode, were not likely to afford us any means of communicating with our native soil, our families, our friends or favorites, whom we were now leaving far behind; and to augment these painful reflections, his Majesty's proclamations had arrived at Falmouth, the evening prior to our departure, offering bounties for the manning of the fleet; several sail of the line were put into commission, and flag officers appointed to different

¹ p. 202.

commands: these were circumstances similar to those under which, in August 1776, I had sailed from England in the *Discovery*, commanded by Captain Clerke, on a voyage which in its object nearly resembled the expedition we were now about the undertake.'

By this time Vancouver's frame had developed fully; the shoulders were heavy, the neck somewhat short; while his face, still handsome, had acquired a new purposefulness from the development of a firm, almost aggressive, jaw. Even so, it was the face of a delicate man.

Before even the Madeiras were sighted the *Chatham* was sailing so badly, and their progress was so slow, that Vancouver began forthwith his rigid régime for the preservation of his company's health. He had the storerooms washed in vinegar and the ship smoked with gunpowder mixed with vinegar, lighting fires between decks to 'keep up a constant circulation of fresh air,' measures learnt from Cook.

A FRACAS AT TENERIFFE

The convention governing the composition of such works as Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery* precluded, apparently, reference to many episodes of interest. Certainly Vancouver, who so punctiliously recorded his astronomical observations and coastal surveys, left much unwritten. Thus, he tells us that during their visit to Teneriffe, he waited upon Senr. Don Antonio Guitierres, the Governor General of the Canaries, was received with courtesy, visited the city of Laguna and dined with a Mr. Rhoney, an Irish gentleman. He does not tell us anything about the clash between his crew and the Spanish soldiers, of how he felt when, in mufti and unrecognised, he was picked up and thrown into the sea. The bare facts no doubt were necessary for official purposes, and what Vancouver omitted to report, Menzies, the botanist, Johnstone,

the master of the *Chatham*, and Puget put into logs or private letters, happily preserved.

In a letter from Teneriffe dated 5th May, Menzies wrote to Banks :

‘ . . . The *Chatham* has been so lumbered on her decks with provisions, etc., that she proved top-heavy, and unable to carry sail sufficient to keep up with us. This, together with a succession of bad weather and contrary winds, occasioned a tedious passage to Madeira, which we did not make till the 24th of April, and a few squalls of wind off the land, with some intervals of calm, was, I believe, the only cause of our leaving the island next day for this place without any further perseverance to gain the intended road of Funchall. We arrived here on the 28th of April, and the following day I waited on the Governor, with Capt. Vancouver. . . . I . . . proposed on Monday to make a more extensive excursion to the inland country . . . had it not been for an accident which happened on Sunday evening, and which had nearly turned out to be a very serious one. It was as follows : Being a holy-day, a number of men from both vessels were permitted to take the recreation of the shore. Capt. Vancouver, with a party of the officers, rode to see the city of Laguna, about two leagues off, and returned to Sancta Cruz to dinner. In the afternoon the midshipman who went on shore for the liberty-men had a scuffle with the *Chatham's* people on the wharf, which induced the Spanish sentinels to interpose, and one of them had his musket wrenched out of his hands by one of our marines, upon which he immediately ran to alarm the guard. At this time Capt. V. and some of the officers came down to the waterside, and were endeavouring to get the people into the boats when the Spanish guard arrived, accompanied by a numerous mob, and began to knock down our men and officers without distinction. Capt. V. was thrown from the wharf into the sea, and luckily taken up by our boat without being much hurt. The attack then

do not mention

became so general that the H'ble Mr. Pit and some others jumped into the sea and swam to the boat to save their lives. Mr. Baker, 3rd lieutenant of the *Discovery*, who was, indeed, the only officer armed and in full uniform, and had never shown the least sign to draw upon them, was knocked on the head in several places and wounded. Many of the men were likewise bruised and wounded in several places, but none, I believe, dangerously. The next day Capt. Vancouver wrote a letter of remonstrance to the Spanish Governor, complaining of the rough treatment he and his people had received on the preceeding day, and on Tuesday an ans'r was returned by the Governor, the purport of which was that he was extremely sorry for what had happened, and was then using his utmost endeavours to find out the transgressors and bring them to condeign punishment; that such of the guard as were concerned in the scuffle were in confinement, should be tryed for their conduct, and suffer whatever punishment a court-martial should think proper to inflict. But he complains much of our being the cause of the quarrel, and laments that Capt. V. was not in his uniform, on which the guard would certainly have paid him more respect.

'That the quarrel originated with our people is, I think, pretty evident from every information I can collect; but that the Spanish guard acted very unbecoming soldiers will not, I think, require much examination. . . .'

Menzies's account of the fracas differs but little from that of J. Johnstone to J. Berteret in a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, dated 22nd August:

'The *Chatbam* was, without a doubt, the most improper vessel that could have been pitched upon. She draws $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water, and is scarcely the burthen of 120 tons; she has neither breadth nor length in the least reasonable proportion; where then is the fitness for rivers and shallows, which they say we are to explore? As you may

conclude, we are very tender, and for sailing we have not been a match for the dullest merchant vessel we have met with. The *Discovery* sails much better, and she is stiff from her good bearings, and by her projecting sides affords great convenience and room for working. She has answered so far as to please those belonging to her.

‘We could have anchored at Funchal in an hour or two, but the *Discovery*, having acted with much more caution in respect to the land, was not able to come to us, and therefore made us a signal to join her. . . .’

‘On the Sunday after our arrival we dined with an Englishman, and both ships had liberty, in consequence of which all hands got drunk, and insulted everyone, even the Spanish sentinels. The Spanish guard was called out, and some of our men were forced down to their boats rather roughly, when the Capt., who heard of the attack just as he had finished his coffee, came down, and was instantly thrust by the butt end of a musket into the sea.

‘The capt., when he came on board, lamented that he was not decked in his uniform, as he could in that case have made a national affair of it; he wrote, however, to the Spanish Governor, resting his charge on there having been a lieut. in uniform among those who were beaten, and received an evasive answer. I daresay the Governor thought him in the wrong. . . .’

Puget, who kept a log, also says a little about this affair :

‘The former [Vancouver] was thrown into the water from the Wharf. Mr. Baker was knocked down with the Butt End of a Musquet & Mr. Whidbey’s Life was attempted by one of the Guard with a fixt Bayonet which missing him was bent nearly double against a Wall—Some of the Seamen were likewise wounded—fortunately they were got off without any Lives being Lost.’

THE CRANK 'CHATHAM'

The voyage to the Cape passed without other known untoward adventures. Vancouver soon began to take those anti-scorbutic measures whose supreme value he had come to appreciate when serving as Cook's midshipman. 'The fresh beef that we had bought from Teneriffe being exhausted, on Wednesday the 18th (May) portable broth and sour krout was again served to the ships' crews. . . .' Taking advantage of the serene weather, he took the first of those careful lunar observations which he painstakingly continued throughout the whole voyage. The *Chatham*, however, 'to our great mortification, continued to sail equally slow in light as in fresh gales, which materially affected the progress of our voyage.'

Before the two ships had arrived at the Cape, Vancouver being free to choose his course by the terms of his instructions, had decided to visit the S.W. coast of New Holland to determine the navigability of the coastal waters and also to establish or disprove the insularity of Van Diemen's Land. He was exceedingly conscientious and realised that there would be little he could accomplish at the Sandwich Islands, their probable winter quarters for the next two years at least, since Cook had made very thorough charts of those isles. Hence his determination, of which he informed Grenville by letter from the Cape, to take his opportunity for an 'examination of that extent of coast of the S.W. side of New Holland which in the present age appears a real blot in geography, particularly when we reflect on the many vessels that in this improved age of navigation have passed the meridians.'

At the Cape, among other ships, English, American and Dutch, lay the *Gorgon*, the ship named as the *Discovery's* consort for the abandoned expedition outlined in Grenville's communication to Governor Phillip of Port Jackson. A Dutch ship from Batavia lying there infected Vancouver's

crews with a sort of dysentery, which he refers to as a flux : ' which at first seemed of little importance, but had now put on a very serious appearance ; and some of the patients were extremely ill.' The *Discovery's* surgeon was among the victims, and Vancouver hastened to depart, sailing with his sick on a light breeze, on the 17th of August. But not before he had prepared a despatch for Lord Grenville outlining his intentions, and had reported upon the condition of the ships, which had made necessary many repairs.¹

It was obvious by the past sailing of the *Chatham*, that a separation of the two vessels, so highly undesirable, was a possibility to be reckoned with. Vancouver therefore furnished the *Chatham's* commander, Lieut. Broughton, with a copy of his instructions and further directions under his own hand.*

Nothing commands admiration for the leader of this expedition more surely than the contemplation of all the resources it had not. It was a well-equipped expedition for those days ; yet Vancouver's ship and her consort were not seldom a week's sail from each other ; his instruments were still to some extent scientific experiments of uncertain value and accuracy ; his ship in constant need of repairs, and the health of his crew the subject of perpetual anxiety and care. With all these problems and responsibilities on his mind, Vancouver let no detail that might prove of scientific utility escape his eye or recording quill.

On the 4th of September he describes, like a carefree traveller, the gambols of a seal that had followed the ship from the Cape, and the swift pintadoes and following birds of the petrel tribe. The next day he makes four sets of lunar observations and records the results, passing on to record the death by the flux of Neil Coil, marine : ' An exceedingly good man ; his loss was sensibly felt and much regretted.'

On 26th of September the *Chatham* sighted the south-west

¹ pp. 203-6.

² pp. 206-7.

coast of New Holland and named the conspicuous promontory first seen, Cape Chatham.

During the next three years, Vancouver was to discover and name more than two hundred geographical features, and he seems to have taken a keen interest in the geographical christening process, so that a considerable amount may be deduced concerning the man from his choice of names.

The quality of the Australian survey may be seen from his map.¹ 'Our survey,' he wrote, 'comprehended an extent of 110 leagues, in which space we saw no other haven or place of security for shipping than the sound before mentioned' (King George the Third's Sound).

Whenever Vancouver was able to set right previous explorers he always did so in a manner that suggests the man of sensibility and humility, and he never set down in his copious writings a single word in a boastful spirit, or, indeed, even with an elation that it would be easy to understand; when he well knew Dampier's account of the western coast of New Holland to be inaccurate, he stresses that fantastic mariner's 'very superior talents';² and proceeds to produce his evidence with the moderation of the man of cautious mind. If he finds Cook in error, as he does now and then, he notes the fact with something like self-depreciation and apology, and punctiliously recounts whatever handicaps might account for the error discovered. Thus: 'The next evening, agreeably to our reckoning, we were passing between the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, distant from the latter about five or six leagues. The weather was thick and rainy, yet I continued to hope that a favourable interval would enable us to see one or both of those islands, having steered this eastwardly course with a wish to correct an error that appears in Captain Cook's charts of the Southern hemisphere. In these the island of St. Paul is laid down in the latitude of $37^{\circ} 50'$, corresponding with the situation assigned to it in the requisite tables;

¹ See inset on Great Chart at end.

² p. 207.

*namin
geographical
features*

and to the north of this island, in about the latitude of $30^{\circ} 40'$, is placed another called the island of Amsterdam : now the island which Mr. Cox in the *Mercury* stopped at, and called Amsterdam, is in sight of and situated 17 leagues to the south of the island of St. Paul. Captain Bligh, in the *Bounty*, also saw the same island and allots to it nearly the same situation as does Mr. Cox. For these reasons, if there be an island to the north of St. Paul, in latitude $30^{\circ} 40'$, there must be three instead of two of these islands, which I believe had never been understood to be the fact.'

Or again, referring to Cook's calculation of the latitude of Dusky Bay, he says : 'The latitude of the harbour was found to be one minute South of Captain Cook's calculation, or $45^{\circ} 45' 36''$. His determination is, however, most likely to be correct, as mine was deduced from one day's observation only, with an artificial horizon. . . .'

Many expeditions were made to examine the shore of this unknown coast where they came upon villages of crude hutments, beehive shaped, from which the inhabitants had departed. They saw signs of forest fires. 'The shores,' he wrote, 'consisted either of steep naked rocks, or a milk-white barren sand, beyond which dreary boundary the surface of the ground seemed covered by a deadly green herbage. . . .'

In his cabin, Vancouver pored over Cronstadt's *Mineralogy*, striving to identify the chalky earth on that coast : 'It did not show any signs of effervescence with acids, nor did it burn into lime, but, like the earth alluded to [moorish soil], contains a number of small transparent crystals. These were visible without a microscope ; and as, on applying the blow-pipe, vitrification took place, it might probably be usefully appropriated in making a sort of porcelain.'

He smacks his lips at a memorable feast and writes : 'On our way out of this harbour, the boats grounded on a bank we had not before perceived ; this was covered with

Scientific analysis of land

oysters of a most delicious flavour, on which we sumptuously regaled ; and loading, in about half an hour, the boats for our friends on board, we commemorated the discovery by calling it Oyster Harbour.'

Although he laid down about three hundred miles of coast eastwards from King George Sound (of which he took possession in that monarch's name), caution on an unknown coast, detention by the late easterly winds which drew them from the land, decided him against the examination of the Great Australian Bight and Van Diemen's Land. Referring to his decision to abandon this project, he wrote : 'I was therefore compelled to relinquish, with great reluctance, the favourite project of further examining the coast of this unknown though interesting country ; and, directing our route over an hitherto untraversed part of these seas, we proceeded without further delay towards the Pacific Ocean.'

Little more than a month had been spent upon this survey, and a comparison of Vancouver's chart with a modern one shows that his work was done with an accuracy and thoroughness which are little less than astonishing.

Tradition has it that Magellan's followers were the first European navigators to sight Australia. A French chart of twenty years later (1542) marks it as Jave la Grande. Cornelius Wytcliet told the world that it occupied a fifth of the globe's surface ; Torres gave his name to the strait between Cape York and New Guinea. The first Englishman mentioned is Dampier.

In 1770, Cook explored the east coast from Gipps Land to Cape York. And a year before Vancouver arrived on the south-west, Bass and Flinders were on the south-east coast, and, again, a year later when Vancouver was in the North Pacific, Flinders was at Moreton Bay. But to Vancouver belongs the honour of having made the first chart of that south-west coast of which Cook wrote :
... on the western side I can make no new discovery,

the honour of which belongs to the Dutch navigators. . . .'¹ It was not until the *Beagle*, with the great Darwin aboard, sailed into the Pacific in 1837-43 that a complete survey of the whole coast of Australia was made.

Vancouver's choice of place-names provides a clue to the namer's character. Cape Chatham, 'in honour of the noble earl who presided at the Board of Admiralty,' no less than Cape Howe,² after the commander of the Channel fleet, are compliments in useful quarters; Mount Gardner attests an old admiration for a senior officer, Bald-head, the commander who could unbend; Doubtful Island reveals the cautious man; Oyster Bay, the boy; and Termination Island, the decisiveness of the man of action.

NEW ZEALAND - OTAHITI

On the 26th of October the *Discovery* passed twelve leagues W.S.W. of Van Diemen's Land, and on the morning of the 2nd of October they sighted New Zealand and presently felt the long, heavy swell of Dusky Bay. Seventeen years before, as a boy A.B., on his maiden voyage, Vancouver had come with Cook into this fine harbour. It was now his fifth visit.

Cook had made a thorough survey of Facile Harbour, save for the northern arm inside the bay, which he named Nobody Know's What. Vancouver now completed the survey, found this arm bifurcated, and had his somewhat elephantine jest by naming the second branch Somebody Knows What.

Having repaired the extensive damage done to the *Discovery* when she was driven by a sudden hurricane from her moorings—a narrow escape from complete disaster—the two ships set sail for Matavai Bay, Otaihiti. A gale

¹ Captain Cook's *Journal*, p. 297.

² Vancouver appears to have overlooked the fact that Cook, during his survey of the eastern coast in 1770, gave this name to the promontory at the S.E. point.

blew, obliging them to furl topsails ; and 'At this moment we were alarmed by finding six feet of water in the hold, which the ship felt excessively, labouring much by being pressed down forward with that weight of water.'

Six feet of water in a hold a mere 12 feet 4 inches in depth was a serious matter. 'This very unpleasant circumstance obliged us to sail directly before the wind and sea, for the purpose of freeing the ship ; when, by receiving much water in the waste, the casks of beer and water stowed upon deck, broke from their securities and were stove to pieces. The cause of so much water in the hold, at first a matter of great surprise, was soon accounted for. The hand pumps had been, and were still, choaked. . . .'

This episode, one of many, is related by Vancouver in his characteristic terse style, for throughout his records Vancouver uses adjectives but sparingly, so that when he writes 'very,' 'intense,' or 'severe,' those adjectives err on the side of under-statement rather than exaggeration. He is, indeed, uniformly laconic, so that it is necessary to read between the lines of his plain unadorned narrative the real drama of many of the experiences through which he passed.

During the 'most furious storm' that smote the *Discovery* soon after her pumps had been restored to working order, she missed her consort, but Matavai Bay in Otahiti had been fixed upon as the next rendezvous, and for that place Vancouver steered. But he was to see land long before his island objective.

'The mainsail and close-reefed topsails (all the sail the ship would bear) were now set, and keeping the wind on the beam, we steered S.S.E. ; when about eleven o'clock, to our great astonishment, land was discovered, bearing east four or five leagues distant. We knew of no land nearer than the South Cape of New Zealand, and, by the courses we had steered, there was scarcely a possibility of our being within less than 18 or 20 leagues of the Cape. . . .'

Seven craggy islands were seen, destitute of verdure, the seas breaking upon the shore. 'It was matter of some surprise how these islands could have escaped the attention of Capt. Cook, but on laying them down in his chart of New Zealand, I found his tracks had not at any time reached within at least ten leagues of them.'

These islands Vancouver named the Snares, 'as being very likely to draw the unguarded mariner into alarming difficulties.'

Leaving the Snares astern, the last of the sheep was thrown overboard. 'Out of 30 sheep taken on board at Portsmouth,' he writes, 'no more than 2 came to the table, the rest died before we reached the equator'; where a like fate overtook the 30 taken aboard at the Cape.

On the 22nd of December, Vancouver again sighted land, an island that evoked in his mind the image of a vessel under sail. He steered for it, 'the land being at a considerable distance from the tracks of former navigators.'

Canoes came off to them, and presently, their fears allayed, these people 'of the Great South-Sea nation' were induced to accept presents, a bolder member coming aboard. 'On his entering the ship, he trembled and was much agitated; apprehension, astonishment, and admiration equally appearing at the same instant.'

But, as always, in the South Seas, cupidity swamped all other emotions. Looking glasses, beads and other trifles delighted them, 'but no sooner did they discern that articles made of iron were common amongst us, than they refused any other gift for iron.' This preference for iron above everything was common to all the South Sea islanders.

Unfortunately Toweroo,¹ the Sandwich islander, appeared to have forgotten his mother tongue and proved useless as interpreter. All that Vancouver could glean was that the name of their island was Oparo; that of their chief,

¹ In 1788, Captain Duncan, of the Prince of Wales, carried from their native Niihau several Hawaiians, of whom one, Toweroo, was taken to England.

Korie. Vancouver was the first white navigator to see this island, whose 'high craggy mountains, forming in several places most romantic pinnacles with perpendicular cliffs reaching from their summits to the sun,' enchanted him.

Of this island, Manby writes in his log : ' At 2 observed four Hills on each of which was a House pallisadoe'd round, at 3 saw three Canoes paddling towards the ship, but would not venture near, till convinced of our friendship, when one came under the Bows and was thrown some beads—upon which they all drew much nearer, to the Number of eight double and five single, a few exchanges took place—Beads for their Hooks and Lines, one at last ventur'd on board who join'd Noses with the Capn to the great satisfaction of all his Countrymen who jump'd from their Canoes and swam on board—from what we could understand the Name of this Island was Aparroo and that other Islands were not far distant. no refreshment could be procured from them. at 7 Bore up.'

Leaving Oparo, they sighted on the 25th December the Duke of Gloucester's Island, first discovered by Captain Carteret. The 25th brought them in sight of Matavai, or Osnaburgh Island. Otahiti now gleamed upon the horizon.

CHAPTER VI

Otabiti

1791

ISOLATION

WHEN the *Discovery* anchored in Matavai Bay, Otabiti, Vancouver was relieved to find the *Chatham* already there. Broughton, her commander, reported the discovery of an island to which he had given the name Chatham Island.

King Otoo, now abdicated in favour of his son, who had taken his father's name along with his sceptre, came to meet Vancouver, whom he well remembered from the visit of 1777. The record of this encounter contains a valuable clue for us. Otoo, now known as Pomurrey, was so emaciated and weak that he had to be hoisted aboard and accommodated below upon an improvised bed.

'He frequently observed,' Vancouver wrote, 'I had grown very much, and looked very old since last we parted.'

Vancouver seldom refers to his state of health in the six volumes of his *Voyage of Discovery*, but he was, it would seem, by this time, at thirty-five years of age, a prematurely aged man. Ill-health and the vast responsibilities and hazards of his command probably tended to make him irascible at times, although there is not a single authenticated instance where he may be justly accused of that brutality with which he has sometimes been charged. There are, indeed, occasions when he appears to have exercised a laudable degree of patience, of which this visit of Pomurrey was one. For the old reprobate had come aboard in search of brandy, and, having consumed a bottle at a sitting, became so violent

'that four strong men were required to hold him down, and to perform of the office of "Roome, Roome" which is done by squeezing the flesh of the limbs and body of the intoxicated person with their hands.'

In an hour the old man had recovered and was asking for more, and, being refused, was abusing Vancouver for a stingy fellow. Vancouver thereupon gave orders that the old Chief was to be given all the spirits he called for : 'concluding, that in a few days he would be convinced of its ill effects. In this I was not mistaken. . . .'

Nowadays, when mobility, elaborate modern scientific equipment and easy communications with the outside world have robbed exploration of much of its rigours, it is well to conjure up as best we may the conditions under which these great voyagers of the pre-steam, pre-radio age worked.

The *Discovery* herself was such a ship as a modern steam-trained sailor might hesitate to take across the Bay of Biscay ; beside her inadequate and crude accommodation and appointments a modern ship equipped for exploration is an arsenal of scientific armament against disaster and disease. Vancouver, it must be remembered, had no easily invoked machinery of law and order to call upon. He could not even maintain communications with the Admiralty in London, save by the uncertain and slow process of written despatches, most of which, sent from the Pacific, took a year or more to reach their destination, and did so then only by the courtesy of the Spanish commanders of the North American coast settlements. Thus, in case of difficulty, he was not able to obtain further instructions, but had to rely upon his own judgment and stand by his decisions alone. Yet the only time when we find Vancouver calling his subordinate officers into counsel is when he requires their opinion upon the terms of his commission, as a confirmation of his own interpretation, and as cover against future adverse criticism from the Lords of the Admiralty.

Such an enterprise was warranted to find the fundamentally big qualities of a man, as it was certain to unmask latent weaknesses. Cooped up in that small ship, the men in their ill-lit and malodorous fo'castle quarters frequently fell to quarrelling. Enforced propinquity is a certain breeder of animosities that grow in time to deep and brooding hate. Vancouver punished the men who quarrelled and fought by giving them the lash.

But the psychological drama of the fo'castle was not peculiar to that part of the ship's company. The commander had to keep the upper hand of his crew and to suppress brawling. He had to handle mettlesome 'young gentlemen' of the quarter-deck and teach them by the rough methods of his time the meaning of sea discipline. And, as we shall see, he did not hesitate to prescribe the same medicine for the peer's son as for the son of the farmer and labourer. He had to preserve harmony among his officers and, between them and himself, maintain mutual respect and loyalty.

For Menzies, the naturalist, this expedition was foremost a magnificent opportunity to botanise. To Vancouver, the seaman, the erection of a glass frame on deck for Menzies' specimens, was an unnautical object to be looked at askance. Vancouver and Menzies could not indulge in a free fight to relieve the tension, but that their temperaments were utterly incompatible, and that there was much friction, is fairly certain. But, for the irascible man, irritated by constant close association with his antagonist, there are many ways of delivering blows. What was easier for Vancouver than to order back to routine duty the man detailed to care for these precious plants of the botanist?

Menzies wrote bitterly about this episode, and, as we shall see, others even more acrimonious were to follow.

Vancouver was probably by nature a man of autocratic temperament; but he was no tyrant. He refers in his writings constantly to his solicitude for the health of his

men, a pre-occupation stimulated, it might be said, as much by the ever-present fear of sickness and the inevitable consequences of it for the expedition as by any tender or humanitarian impulses, though he was not without these. Nor need we accept Vancouver as his own unsupported witness. There is the record of his great voyage, during which he preserved the health of his crew by keeping the scurvy at bay, a triumph that implies constant thought and resourcefulness in the use of every anti-scorbutic measure known to him.

In short, in those days a commander had but two alternatives: to be the autocratic ruler of an isolated floating society, or to expose himself to ignominious death at the hands of a mutinous crew. Vancouver knew this as well as any man afloat. He knew many a story of such things; and, among them, the tragic tale of the *Bounty*.¹ Here in Otahiti, with his old island friends about him, the repairs of his two ships going forward, and sweet, fresh water coming aboard along with lush green foodstuffs, Vancouver was reminded of the fate of that ship.

ROUGH JUSTICE

1792

Poeno, Chief of Matavai, came aboard by canoe, bringing with him a portrait of Captain Cook, drawn by Mr. Webber in 1777. 'This picture,' Vancouver wrote, 'is always deposited in the house of the Chief of Matavai, and is become the public register. On the back of it was written that the *Pandora* had quitted this island the 8th of May, 1791.'

This was the vessel despatched from England to pick up the survivors of the *Bounty* at Otahiti.

During the three weeks spent at Otahiti, the crews of the two ships were permitted, with certain restrictions, to trade with the natives, who, as ever with the South Sea islanders, preferred iron to beads and theft to purchase. For the

¹ p. 207.

regulation of this trade Vancouver issued rules and orders in which he enjoined his men to cultivate friendly relations with the islanders ; to trade only through authorised intermediaries ; and to watch carefully on shore duty against the theft of iron and other stores.¹ But as with all the islanders in those days, thieving, a consummate art with them, was resorted to when the wiles of the accomplished cadger failed. Vancouver tells us that he turned over a number of petty thieves to their chiefs to be punished by the public shaving of their heads, in which condition they would suffer a humiliation equivalent to the pillory, being in that condition objects of general derision.

This laconic report scarcely does justice to the incident. The log entry of 17th of January, however, gives us a better picture.

‘Two of the Natives were detected on board stealing a hat which they had contrived to get through one of the Scuttles, but on being discovered the Small Cutter was sent in pursuit of them. She soon returned with the Thieves, who were immediately put in Confinement and the Hat restored to its proper Owner. But as many Petty Thefts had been Committed about the Encampment it was thought necessary the punishment should be public, for which Purpose the Offenders were brought to the Tents under a Guard of Marines & in the presence of Otoo (who had this morning returned from Oparre) Uripcha & Whytooa (?) & the principal Chiefs of the Island we shaved their Heads, afterwards one Received two Dozen Lashes, for stealing the Hat, the Other one Dozen for Assisting.’

Manby, also, mentions this incident in his log: ‘*Tuesday, Jany 17* : . . . detained two of the Natives who had stolen a Hat from the Ship, sent them on shore to Captain who Shaved the Head, cut off the Beard and gave two dozen Lashes to one, and the other, cut off his beard, shaved half his head, and gave him one dozen.’ This done, ‘additional

¹ p. 208.

centinels were posted ; and, as a summary and immediate punishment when caught in the fact, seemed most likely to prevent in future a repetition of crime, orders were issued to shoot any person who might be found in the act of stealing. . . .’

If these simple islanders took rather too casual a view of theft, it might appear that Vancouver erred in the other direction. But here, as elsewhere, we must judge him by the known standards of his age, for he lived at a time when it was a hanging matter to steal five shillings, when there were on the Statute Book more than two hundred capital offences.

TOWEROO’S WOOING

While the ships were replenishing their stores and making repairs, Toweroo, for some time under suspicion, disappeared from the ship. ‘He had formed an attachment,’ Vancouver relates, ‘with the daughter of Poeno, the chief of Matavai, on whom, by examination, we now found he had lavishly bestowed nearly all he possessed. This was of no small value, for, independent of his abundant outfit in England, many presents had been made him ; to which his want of principle had added, by making too free with some valuable articles belonging to the gunner, with whom he had messed previous to his departure.’

‘If, indeed, this lady had become heir to all poor Toweroo’s possessions, she must indeed have acquired an extraordinary collection, for before his departure from England Toweroo had been presented with many amazing presents, among others a complete suit of mail.

Thomas Manby, master’s mate on the *Discovery*, and, like Vancouver, a Norfolk man, whose manuscript log has been recently discovered, gives therein an account of Toweroo’s vicissitudes. He tells us how the lover, having conveyed his effects ashore, followed them by swimming

the dividing mile under cover of darkness, and how search parties brought back 'the miserable and dejected swain, after two days' absence.' And there is no doubt but that the sympathies of the ship's crew were with the islander.

*als
abandonment*
Vancouver, having received this islander at Deptford with specific instructions to return him to his native Sandwich Islands, evidently took the same serious view of this order as he did of more weighty matters. Toweroo, the only party concerned, had elected for life in Otahiti with the woman of his heart. But Vancouver had other plans for him; and the means he took to secure the return of the native may well strike us to-day as arbitrary, since they were to take as hostages several 'royal ladies,' who were told that they would be kept on board until the missing lover was delivered up.

This threat, however, Vancouver tells us dryly, had an unlooked-for effect: 'With this arrangement they seemed perfectly satisfied; and from their mirth, and joking with each other as to their being carried to sea, their reception in England, &c. &c., I began to conjecture that Toweroo was in reality taken . . .'

This proved to be the fact, and three chiefs soon after brought the man aboard. Manby's log has the entry: ' . . . at 2 the Boat returned from Oparré, with the Deserter (Toweroo) who had been secured by Pomara, who came on board with two other chiefs.' On the 24th of January, on a light easterly breeze, the *Discovery* and *Chatham* left Otahiti and steered for the Sandwich Islands. Doubtless there were two who wept: Toweroo the love-sick and old King Otoo the inebriate.

AT OWHYHEE

The two ships had now been ten months at sea, and Vancouver remarks: 'It was not until the present moment that our voyage could be considered as commenced;

having now for the first time pointed our vessel's head towards the grand object of the expedition.'

On the 1st of March, Owhyhee, the place of rendezvous for their store-ship, was seen bearing by compass from north to N. by E., but they were chagrined to find the *Dædalus* had not arrived. The sea was calm, the sky blue. Vancouver mustered his crew and again read the order relating to trading with the natives. For the next two days they cruised along the coast, and Vancouver checked Cook's longitude and agreed it within a few seconds.

They came off Karakakoa Bay, of evil memory, with its steep precipices and woodlands above the barren rocks of the shore where Cook had fallen. Canoes came out from the shore, and soon Tianna, a chief who had sailed aboard Meares' ship, was on the *Discovery's* deck.

Vancouver had decided against landing at the Bay, for since the death of Cook, the Pacific sea adventurers were realising the folly of making presents of lethal weapons to the natives. But he still had to dispose of poor Toweroo, according to his orders. Tianna happily took a fancy to Toweroo, and made him an offer of a house, land, and other advantages. Vancouver decided to fall in with this plan, and on his return in the following winter to see how Toweroo was being treated.

The arrangements made, Toweroo became apprehensive and begged Vancouver to look after his possessions on the *Discovery*. To Toweroo Vancouver entrusted a letter to the commander of the belated store-ship. In that letter he announced his intention of proceeding to the coast of America after watering at the Leeward Islands.

Manby gives an account of this disposal of the islander in the MS. journal referred to :

'Capt. Vancouver was determined to settle the Islander we had bro't from England. Proposals were made to Tianna, who holding the third rank at Owhyhee, had it in his power to give him consequence and authority as well as

Habitations and Land in the district of which he was ruler. Toraroo [Toweroo] with joy agreed to the plan : no doubt happy in the idea of parting with a set of Men who had treated him with the utmost barbarity by tearing him from the object of his affection at Otahita. Tianna has promised to make him a Chief and recommend him to the King for further favours, but whether his promises will be like those too often made by the Great our visit next year will determine.'

A MS. journal kept by Alexander Bell, a Scots A.B. on the *Discovery*, asserts that Vancouver put the islander ashore without suitable presents. There, for the present we leave him, coming back to him hereafter, since his is one of the only two affairs of the heart recorded during this historic voyage.

Toweroo gone, one Tarehooa, a native of Attowai, hailed the ship from his canoe, to their surprise, in broken English. A native linguist was an acquisition. Tarehooa was taken aboard, his canoe put in tow, and himself, for convenience, christened Jack. From voluble, but incoherent, Jack, Vancouver was able to splice together the facts concerning the island wars.

Here, too, they encountered three white waifs of the Pacific, a Derbyshire boy, Rowbottom, in the service of the trader Kendrick, of the *Lady Washington* ; John Williams, a Welshman ; and James Coleman, a reputed Irishman, who presented himself before the ship's company naked, save for a *maro*, his skin the colour of mahogany. This condition offended Vancouver's susceptibilities.

'I asked him,' he relates, 'what he had done with his former clothes ; to which he answered with a sneer, that "they were hanging up in a house for the admiration of the natives" ; and seemed greatly to exult in having degenerated into a savage way of life.'

Of these men Manby says : 'Two Englishmen and a Welshman we found on the Island, who have resided here

some time in order to collect Sandell and other woods, with pearls for their American employers.'

But if Coleman in Vancouver's eyes was a renegade, on the island he was the honoured councillor of the chief Enemoh, who came aboard and greeted Vancouver with effusion, recalling a former meeting at Attowai with Captain Cook. Did Vancouver not recall the lock of hair given by him to Taoi in pledge of friendship? Did he not remember declining to part with a similar token to himself, Enemoh?

Alas, Vancouver had no memory of it.

Vancouver had found conditions at the Sandwich Isles very changed in every way since Cook's discovery of it.

'The alteration,' he observes, 'which has taken place in the several governments of these islands since their first discovery by Captain Cook, has arisen from incessant war, instigated both at home and abroad by ambitious and enterprising chieftains; which the commerce of European arms and communication cannot fail of encouraging to the most deplorable extent.'

The frequency with which the two ships became separated at sea made necessary pre-arranged meeting-points or rendezvous; thus when the *Discovery* and *Chatham* sailed from the Leeward Islands Vancouver planned to make a landfall far south of Barkley Sound in order to start his survey at as southerly a point as possible. But Barkley Sound was chosen as a rendezvous in the event of the two ships parting company.

Their business was now completed, and they put to sea from Oahu.

CHAPTER VII

The Fabled Coast

1792

THE GREEK PILOT

THE *Discovery* made a landfall south of Cape Mendocini and Vancouver looked upon the tall trees of Drake's New Albion. Since those days many mariners had sailed these empty waters, making notable voyages therein. English, American, French, Spanish, and Russian sea-captains, to the number of thirty or thereabouts, had left their charts, inaccurate sketches made by men pre-occupied with the fur trade. Some of the navigators made charts of limited tracts that were fairly accurate, and others toyed with fancy, and among these has been placed one of the most intriguing figures in sea records, the legendary Greek pilot, Juan De Fuca.¹

The modern view tends to regard De Fuca as a purely legendary figure. If this be indeed the case, then an extraordinary amount of circumstantial evidence, suggesting his reality, has accumulated about a mythical figure. We are told, for example, that De Fuca's real name was Apostolos Valerianos, that he was born on the island of Cephalonia, that he entered the Spanish service as a youth and rose to the rank of pilot.

And inevitably we ask: who thought of Apostolos Valerianos? of Cephalonia?

His career, imaginary or real, was romantic enough, for he claimed to have found the North-West Passage. He told his story many times, and once, in the company of Captain John Douglas and Michael Lok, in the city of Marco Polo.

¹ p. 211.

De Fuca was then a very old man and full of bitterness for imagined or real wrongs done him. In Venice, while he kicked his heels awaiting the development of a lawsuit against the Merchant Company of Turkie, Lok listened to the tale of the wizened mariner.

For forty years, said De Fuca, he had sailed the Western seas in the service of Spain, making many voyages, upon one of which, homeward bound from China to New Spain (California) he was robbed and carried off by a certain Captain Candish, 'whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets.' He had been, he declared, the pilot of three ships sent by the Viceroy of Mexico from that land to discover the Straits of Anian, in order to fortify the place (having discovered it) against the aggressions of the English. And this voyage, De Fuca related, there in Venice, failed by reason of the mutiny of her crews.

In 1592, however, the Viceroy sent him again in a small caravela, and with it a pinnace, and for the same purpose : to discover the Straits of Anian. And upon this voyage, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he came upon 'a broad Inlet of Sea' into which he sailed more than twenty days : 'and found that Land trending still sometime North West and North East and North and also East and South Eastward and very much sea was then at the said entrance, and that he passed by divers Ilands in that sayling.'

Now this narrative, set down in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*,¹ for the relation of imaginary affairs, takes a good deal of swallowing. The description of the inland sea and its position are not easily dismissed as fabrications of the Greek mariner for a number of reasons.

The first is that, however dubious may be the historic reality of De Fuca, Lok certainly lived and is no imaginary figure ; Lok was so impressed by De Fuca's story that he solicited of Sir Walter Raleigh and Hakluyt funds to bring him to England.

¹ p. 212.

If we are to reject De Fuca as an historic figure, then we must accept the hypothesis that Lok was a romancer whose fabrication ran uncannily close to the truth. And that is even more difficult to accept than the alternative that De Fuca did actually sail into the straits named after him by John Meares nearly two centuries later.

Those who reject De Fuca altogether do so partly because the archives of Madrid have nothing about him, but those same archives can reveal but little of so notable a figure as Bodega y Quadra, Vancouver's contemporary. They point, too, to the old mariner's tale of a land rich in gold, pearls, and silver as evidence of its unsubstantial origin. That De Fuca, like other explorers before and after him, embroidered his tale with circumstantial details of the marvels expected of him seems a slender reason for the modern view, which tends to the theory that he never existed.

On all material points that may be checked De Fuca's story stands, not in detail, but in broad outline. Approximately where he said it was, there is an island sea, or what may be so described. If we assume that he entered the strait that bears his name, and sailed north along the eastern coast of Vancouver Island, coming out into the Pacific north of it, then we convict him only of drawing a wrong conclusion as to the true nature of his voyage.

If we check his story of the wicked Captain Candish, we find that a Captain Cavendish actually did capture a Spanish ship, the *Santa Anna*, off the coast of Nova Spania.

Vancouver, who well knew the story, says but little upon the subject, but what he says suggests dubiety.

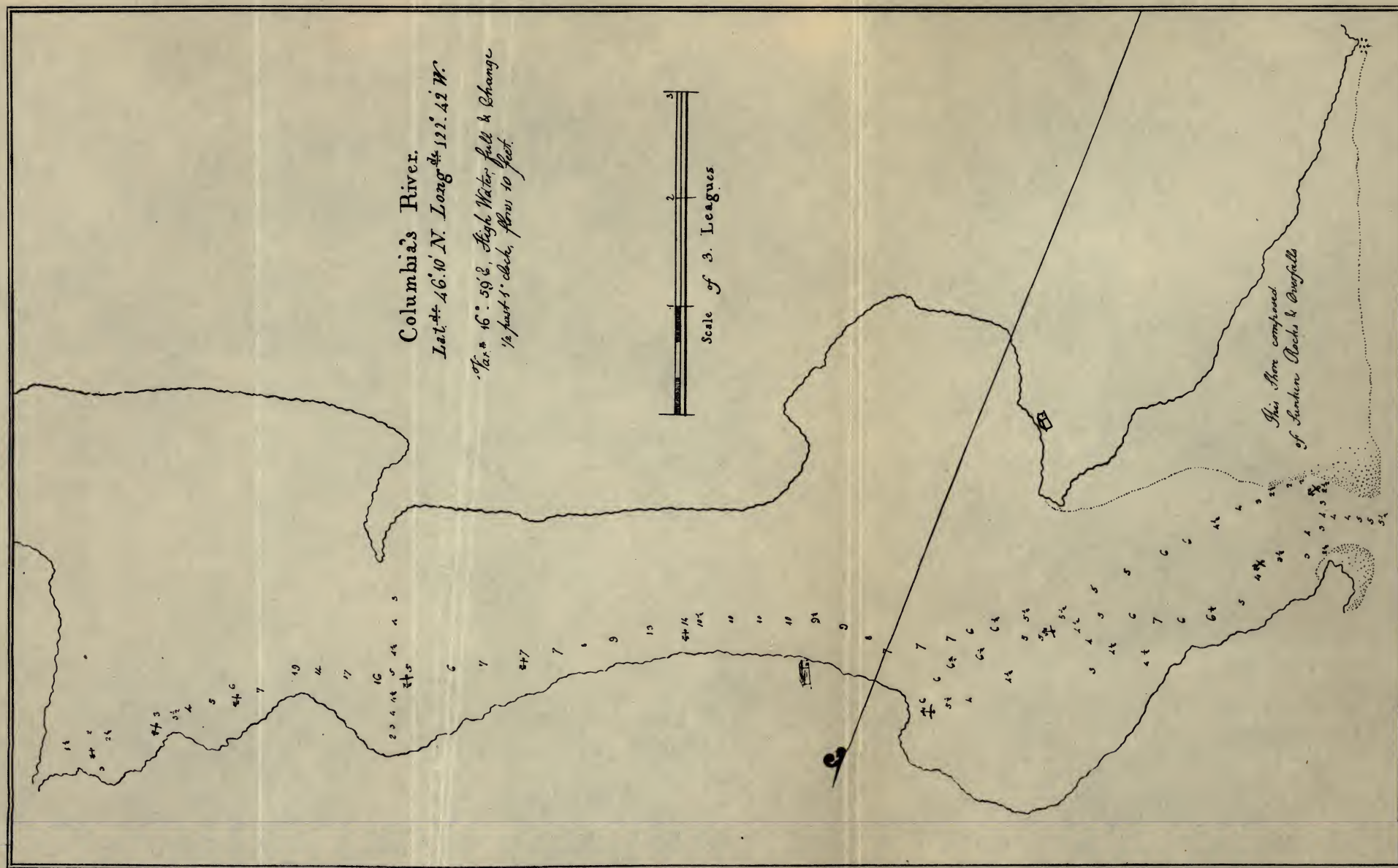
The *Discovery* was now heading towards this famous strait. After two hundred years of sea adventure the first complete chart of this coast from San Domingo to Tscheriknows Isle was about to be laid down, and, thereafter, for a century and more was to serve navigators.



Small rectangular structure

Small rectangular structure
Small rectangular structure
Small rectangular structure

Small rectangular structure
Small rectangular structure
Small rectangular structure



SKETCH OF COLUMBIA RIVER MADE BY LIEUTENANT R. BROUGHTON
 COMMANDER OF THE CHATHAM

VANCOUVER'S METHOD

Vancouver's method of surveying was characteristic. He pushed his ships as far into uncharted coastal waters as he deemed it safe, where they served as temporary bases, and then carried out his surveys by boat parties, under Whidbey, master of the *Discovery*, Lieutenants Baker, Puget, Mudge, Broughton, Hanson, and Johnstone, the *Chatham's* master. He took nothing for granted, and everywhere checked the claims of other navigators. His attitude was that of a scientific man: he sought everywhere proof, and, whenever possible, even when so ill that he could only with difficulty drag himself about, went in person in the ship's yawl upon long and arduous expeditions.

An examination of his Great Chart shows how Vancouver honoured his officers, all of whose names are to be found perpetuated in geographic features along this coast; and, as will be seen presently, he remembered friends and relatives, too, and the place-names of his native country. Even so, in the making of the Great Chart, an achievement that gives him a place of permanent importance in the history of discovery, he failed to detect two of the greatest rivers on the Pacific coast, and of recent years these failures have brought his reputation for sagacity into question. His first failure was the missing of the great Columbia River.

THE COLUMBIA RIVER

The *Discovery* had first sighted land south of Mendocini on the 17th of April, when she started her northerly course, keeping close to the land.

On the 27th she was off Cape Disappointment, with Deception Bay to the south of it. 'On the south side of this promontory,' he wrote, 'was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of

our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point, two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues further south.'

He next notes significant changes in the water : ' The sea had now changed from its natural, to river coloured water ; the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean to the north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the N.W., being desirous of embracing the prevailing breeze.'

Why did Vancouver on this occasion fail to read fairly obvious river signs ? The only theory that seems to meet this quite extraordinary failure in such a navigator is that Vancouver had approached the examination of this coast with a bias against the possibility of the existence of great navigable waterways. That bias may have been the reaction of a sceptical man after the perusal of Mr. Dalrymple's *Voyages*.¹

In any case, having gazed upon the estuary of the great Columbia River, he proceeds north without suspecting its existence.

' The several large rivers and capacious inlets that have been described as discharging their contents into the Pacific, between the 40th and 48th degree of north latitude, were reduced to brooks insufficient for our vessels to navigate, or to bays, inapplicable as harbours for refitting ; excepting that one of which Mr. Dalrymple informs us, that " it is alleged that the Spaniards have recently found an entrance in the latitude of 47° 45' north, which in 27 days' course brought them to the vicinity of Hudson's Bay ; this latitude exactly corresponds to the ancient relation of John De Fuca, the Greek pilot, in 1592." '

Meanwhile, sailing in his vicinity, was the man who was to succeed where he had failed. The encounter has been described by Vancouver :

¹ p. 185.

‘At four o’clock, a sail was discovered to the westward standing in shore. This was a great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort, during the last eight months. She soon hoisted the American colours, and fired a gun to leeward. At six we spoke her. She proved to be the ship *Columbia*, commanded by Mr. Robert Gray, belonging to Boston, whence she had been absent nine months. Having little doubt of his being the same person who had formerly commanded the sloop *Washington*, I desired he would bring to, and sent Mr. Puget and Mr. Menzies on board to acquire such information as might be serviceable in our future operations.’

Gray, it will be remembered, was the man Meares claimed had sailed round the land upon which the Nootka settlement was situated. Vancouver was keenly interested and put it to Gray, and records: ‘It is not possible to conceive any one to be more astonished than was Mr. Gray, on his being made acquainted that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop *Washington*. In contradiction to which, he assured the officers that he had penetrated only 50 miles into the straits in question.’

Before the ships parted company, Gray towards the south, Vancouver along the southern shore of the Strait of De Fuca, Gray mentioned that he had found a river at 46° 10’, but could not get through on account of the breakers. Within a fortnight he had repeated his attempt and penetrated into the river, giving it the name of his ship.

Vancouver’s examination of the great inland waterway now known as Puget Sound—in honour of the second Lieutenant of the *Discovery*, who later was to become Rear-Admiral of the Blue and whom Vancouver had already singled out as a clever junior officer—was carried out by his usual method of boat parties. ‘Thus by our joint efforts we had completely explored every turning of this extensive inlet, and to commemorate Mr. Puget’s

exertions the south extremity of it I named Puget's Sound.'

It will be observed that this name was purely local at first, and became applicable to the whole inland waterway as the early settlers advanced and carried the name along with them.

The boat parties were now seriously seeking the way through to the Atlantic, and the tortuous eastern coast of the inland sea they were now exploring seemed to them exceedingly promising; but the meticulous survey failed to reveal any such opening, and the ships having explored both shores and the many islands about them, steered a northerly course again.

Vancouver and his companions were the first white men to sail the waters of Puget Sound and look upon the unknown land where now stand the great cities of Seattle and Tacoma. Before he sailed out of the Sound, Vancouver had taken possession of the land of New Albion, and of the interior sea which he named the Gulf of Georgia, and the islands therein. That day being the 4th of June and the King's Birthday, they celebrated: 'Sunday, the 3rd, all hands were employed in fishing with tolerable good success or in taking a little recreation ashore, and on Monday, the 4th, they were served with as good a dinner as we were able to provide them, with double allowance of grog to drink the King's health.'

THE FRASER RIVER

Vancouver's next failure is of equal interest, since he was himself in the yawl that made the particular expedition that should have led to the discovery of the great Fraser River. It is true that he had plenty of evidence from which he might have deduced the existence of a large river; but it must be borne in mind that the Fraser does not terminate in a wide, easily seen, open estuary, but in a delta. Critics, with some justice, have deplored Vancouver's failure here, as in the

case of the Columbia, to read river signs, yet his failure to locate the Fraser is understandable. It was an extremely difficult river to find, and that Vancouver and Puget did not skimp their work on this expedition from the *Discovery*, then moored off Birch Bay (the headland now just south of the international boundary line), is proved by their discovery of Burrard's Channel,¹ whose opening from the Strait of Georgia, now known as the Narrows, is just wide enough to pass big modern ships.

Vancouver has described this personal survey, and since his movements during those few days are of historical importance, his own account of them is given here. He himself went in the yawl, Puget in the launch :

'Matters thus arranged, with a week's provision in each boat, I departed at five o'clock in the morning of Tuesday the 12th. The most northerly branch, though attracting our first attention, caused little delay ; it soon terminated in two open bays ; the southermost, which is the smallest, has two small rocks lying off its south point ; it extends in a circular form to the eastward, with a shoal of sand projecting some distance from its shores. This bay affords good anchorage from seven to ten fathoms water : the other is much larger, and extends to the northwards ; these, by noon, we had passed round, but the shoals attached to the shores of each, and particularly to those of the latter, prevented our reaching within four or five miles of their heads. The point constituting the west extremity of these bays, is that which was seen from the ship, and considered as the western part of the mainland, of which it is a small portion, much elevated at the south extremity of a very low narrow peninsula ; its highest part is to the S.E. formed by high white sand cliffs falling perpendicularly into the sea ; from whence a shoal extends to the distance of half a mile round it, joining those of the larger bay ; whilst its south-western extremity, not more than a mile in an east and west

¹ p. 212.

direction from the former, is one of those low projecting sandy points, with ten to seven fathoms of water, within a few yards of it. From this point, situated in latitude $48^{\circ} 57'$, longitude $237^{\circ} 20'$ which I distinguished by the name of Point Roberts (after my esteemed friend and predecessor in the *Discovery*), the coast takes a direction N. 28 W. and presented a task of examination to which we conceived our equipment very unequal. That which, from hence, appeared the northern extreme of the continental shore, was a low bluff point, that seemed to form the southern entrance into an extensive sound, bearing N. 25 W. with broken land stretching about 5° farther to the westward. Between this direction and N 79 W the horizon seemed uninterrupted, excepting by the appearance of a small though very high round island, lying N 52 W apparently at the distance of many leagues. Having thus early examined and fixed the continental shore to the furthest point seen from the ship, I determined to prosecute our inquiries to the utmost limits that care and frugality could extend our supplies; and, having taken the necessary angles, we proceeded, but soon found our progress along the eastern or continental shore materially impeded by a shoal that extends from point Roberts N. 80 W. seven or eight miles further, where it takes a northerly direction towards the above low bluff point. Along the edge of this bank we had soundings from ten to one fathom, as we increased or decreased our distance from the eastern shore; to approach which all our endeavours were exerted to no purpose, until nine in the evening, when the shoal having forced us nearly into the middle of the gulf, we stood over to its western side, in order to land for the night.

‘ At five in the morning of Wednesday the 13th, we again directed our course to the eastern shore, and landed about noon, on the above mentioned low bluff point. This, as was suspected, formed the south point of a very extensive sound, with a small arm leading to the eastward: the space,

which seemed to be its main direction, and appeared very extensive, took a northerly course. The observed latitude here was $49^{\circ} 19'$, longitude $237^{\circ} 6'$, making this point (which, in compliment to my friend Captain George Grey of the navy, was called POINT GREY) seven leagues from point Roberts.

‘The intermediate space is occupied by very low land, apparently a swampy flat, that retires several miles, before the country rises to meet the rugged mountains, which we found still continuing in a direction nearly along the coast. This low flat being very much inundated, and extending behind point Roberts, to join the low land in the bay to the eastward of that point ; gives its high land, when seen at a distance, the appearance of an island : this, however is not the case, notwithstanding there are two openings between this point and point Grey. These can only be navigable for canoes, as the shoal continues along the coast to the distance of seven or eight miles from the shore, on which were lodged, and especially before these openings, logs of wood, and stumps of trees innumerable.’

When Vancouver looked upon this last-described scene from his yawl, he was being told so clearly by every sign of nature which an experienced seaman should easily interpret that there was a mighty waterway, that his obtuseness in not realising the truth must remain a mystery.

But if he missed the Fraser River, he did not return to the *Discovery* with nothing accomplished. Sailing northwards, Vancouver came upon a narrow opening not more than a cable’s length in width, through which he passed into a channel about half a mile in width, up which he sailed, returning the next day. As his yawl, accompanied by the launch, returned, sailing westward towards the narrow opening, the land upon the southern shore presented an unbroken line of standing timber, silent and inscrutable ; while to the north, the hump of a mountain raised itself against the skyline.

‘The shores of this channel, which, after Sir Harry Burrard of the navy, I have distinguished by the name of Burrard’s Channel, may be considered on the southern side, of a moderate height, and though rocky, well covered with trees of large growth, principally of the pine tribe.’

Vancouver and his companions were the first white men to look upon that place. The expedition was but one of many like it—a few days’ work in a five years’ job. Long since, the forest that Vancouver saw on that southern shore has vanished, and where it stood tower up the sky-scrapers of the metropolis named after him; while through the narrow channel (no more than a cable length in width) come and go great ships carrying away the grain crops of the Canadian prairies and bringing produce in from half the world.

Whatever may be said of Vancouver’s failure to locate the Columbia and Fraser Rivers, the accuracy of the Great Survey, a detailed account of which he wrote in the last year of his short life, has aroused the unqualified admiration of modern hydrographers who have checked his work and found it supremely well done. If he missed two rivers he missed little else.

¹ Stanley Park, with its magnificent trees, preserves for us that view, more or less as Vancouver saw it in June 1792.

CHAPTER VIII

Quadra and Vancouver

1792

VALDES AND GALIANO

SAILING for Point Grey to breakfast there, Vancouver was amazed to see two ships. They proved to be the brig *Sutil*, commanded by Senr. Don Galiano, and the schooner *Mexicana*, commanded by Senr. Valdes, both Spanish vessels of war, a detachment from the commission of Senr. Malaspina.

Vancouver was not pleased by this encounter, for it meant that his priority as discoverer might be in jeopardy. The maps of the Spaniards, friendly fellows working ships whose miserable conditions scandalised Vancouver, set his mind at rest. They compared charts, pooled knowledge, and when the *Discovery* and *Chatham* steered north, the Spaniards bore them company. From these Vancouver learned that 'Senr. Quadra, the commander-in-chief of the Spanish mission at St. Blas, at California, was, with three frigates and a brig, waiting his arrival at Nootka, in order to negotiate the restoration of those territories to the Crown of Great Britain.' But he did not hurry himself on that account, and it was only when late in August the British brig *Venus* spoke them and reported the store-ship *Dædalus* at Nootka and there also a very impatient Spanish commander, that Vancouver turned south.

During the following three months the two ships worked a laborious passage up the intricate, island-studded coast and came out into the Pacific through Queen Charlotte Sound, thus proving the insularity of the island that bears Vancouver's name. The honour of the actual discovery is

Johnstone's, for it was his boat that first saw the Pacific, returning, after days of delay, to the parent ship, lying in *Desolation Sound*, anxious for the belated party.

The thorough exploration of this long reach of coast on both the continental and the western shores, and of the many islands between, had been an arduous and dangerous enterprise. Shortly before the triumphant return of Johnstone, a man of infinite resource and tenacity, the *Discovery* was nearly lost, for she suddenly grounded on a bed of sunken rocks about four one afternoon. The water was calm, and Vancouver has described how he set about saving his ship: 'On heaving, the anchor came home so that we had no resource left but of getting down our topmasts, yards &c, &c., shoaring up the vessel with spars and spare topmasts, and lightening her as much as possible, by starting the water, throwing overboard our fuel and part of the ballast we had taken on board in the spring. Soon after the ship was aground, the tide took her on the starboard quarter; and as she was afloat abaft it caused her to take a sudden swing, and made her heel so very considerably on the starboard side, which was from the rocks, that her situation, for a few seconds, was alarming in the highest degree. The shoars were got over with all possible dispatch, but notwithstanding this, by the time it was low water, the starboard main chains were within three inches of the surface of the sea.'

The *Discovery* floated off the next morning with the tide. But more trouble was to come, for at six that evening the *Chatham* ran aground. 'Thus,' says Vancouver, 'before we had recovered from the fatiguing exertions and anxious solicitude of one distressing night, the endurance of a similar calamity was our portion for the next.'

But the tide served the *Chatham* as it had served the larger ship and she was floated off.

There were many occasions during the making of this portion of the chart when those on the ships experienced



W. Alexander del. from a sketch taken on the Spot by Z. Mudge

Engraved by B. T. Pomeroy

DISCOVERY ON THE ROCKS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND

Reproduced from Vancouver's 'Voyage of Discovery'

great anxiety for the boat parties, 'particularly those detached to the S.E. who were greatly exposed, not only to its inclemency, but to the violence of the sea, which, from the uninterrupted ocean, broke with great fury on the southern shores.'

But if Vancouver's discipline was harsh, he had it in him to respect the weathered men who worked under his orders and to pay them tribute: 'One consolation, however,' he wrote, 'always attended my anxious concern on these perilous occasions, that, in the exposure of my people to such fatiguing and hazardous service, I could ever depend on their cheerful and ready obedience to the prudent and judicious directions of the officers who were entrusted with the command of these expeditions.' Nor was he without sentiment, affection for his family in far-off Lynn, and thoughts of his old home, of his mother, brothers, and sisters. Feeling low in spirits at one point, he writes the name 'Desolation Sound' in his chart; then, thinking of home, adds to the two promontories at its gate 'Point Mary,' and 'Point Sarah,' the names of his two sisters.

Senr. Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, commander-in-chief of the marine establishment of St. Blas and California, was a man of character. Peruvian by birth, he was proud of his pure Castilian blood and reputed noble descent. He had sailed as second-in-command under Bruno Hecata in 1775, in command of the wretched sloop *Sonora*.

When Spain capitulated before the menace of the armament off Spithead and agreed by the Nootka Convention to restore the disputed territory to Great Britain, Quadra, then at St. Blas, was ordered north again to hand over in form. Like Vancouver, Quadra had his orders; like Vancouver, he put his own interpretation upon them.

So it was that difficulties arose between them, for these two seasoned seamen, each interpreting the terms of his commission according to his lights, could find no common

ground of agreement as to the bounds of the territory to be formally ceded by the one to the other.

A deadlock was reached ; Vancouver demanded Nootka and Clayoquot, with Neah Bay as a free port.

Quadra shrugged, and, pointing from the doorway of his residency (a dwelling whose commodious proportions filled poor Vancouver with wonder) across the waters of the little cove, he explained, quietly and courteously, that all he would, all he could, hand over was that insignificant piece of foreshore where once Meares had caused a strange little fort to be constructed.

Vancouver looked at this proffered territory, and may well have wondered that three of His Britannic Majesty's ships should have been brought across the world for the sole purpose of acquiring a patch of ground no larger than the board-room of my Lords of the Admiralty. He was polite, but he was firm. It was not enough ; it would not do. And he returned to his cabin on the *Discovery* and read once again that long letter from the Count Florida Blanca in which were set forth the terms of the convention, as it still seemed to him, quite clearly.¹

It was at this time that a Portuguese ship came into Nootka, and Vancouver learned that aboard her was one Robert Duffin who had been with Meares in 1788. Vancouver thereupon invited Duffin into his cabin to make a sworn statement ; it proved to be one that convinced Vancouver of the soundness of his position.²

Either man might have been forgiven had he allowed an element of acrimony to enter into the negotiations from this point on. To their eternal honour, both parties to it behaved like the great gentlemen they were. They honoured their respective countries with the salute of guns ; they entertained each other ; Quadra coming aboard the *Discovery* to share the rough fare of the ship ; Vancouver and his officers sitting round the table of the Don, where ' a

¹ p. 212.

² p. 213.

dinner of five courses, consisting of a superfluity of the best provisions, was served with great elegance ; a royal salute was fired on drinking the health of the sovereigns of England and Spain, and a salute of seventeen guns to the success of the service in which the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* were engaged.'

This hiatus may not have been so entirely unforeseen on either side of the conference table, for the despatch of Grenville to Governor Phillip at Port Jackson¹ reveals, perhaps, the real intentions of Great Britain to colonise upon this coast, and Vancouver may well have had verbal instructions of which we know nothing, as well as those written instructions of which we know the precise terms. While on Quadra's side there may have been the obduracy of the man of action forced to act out of character by his Government, masking beneath an outward courtesy the hidden rancour inseparable from defeat and humiliation.

However this may be, the two men, now really good friends, could find no common ground upon which to settle the matter, and time dragged on. Meanwhile, Vancouver had much else on his mind. The long-looked-for and most welcome *Dædalus* had come into port, but without her commander or astronomer, both of whom, Vancouver learned to his horror (for the former, Hergest, was an old service friend), had been murdered by natives at Oahu, in the Sandwich Islands.

This tragedy, the desertion of men from the *Dædalus* and the absence of Mudge on special service made necessary a redistribution of officers. Vancouver accordingly appointed Lieutenant Hanson of the *Chatham* to the command of the *Dædalus*, Johnstone to his lieutenancy—and promotion—and Swaine, one of the master's mates on the *Discovery*, to be master of the *Chatham*.

The hardships through which his people had passed had now found out the weaker men, and several were

¹ p. 189.

discharged, including Mr. Cranstoun, the *Discovery's* surgeon, in whose place Vancouver appointed Mr. Menzies.¹

The *Chatham* had been beached to ascertain the damage done to her hull on the submerged rocks of Queen Charlotte Sound; the *Discovery* was being outfitted from the supplies at hand from the *Dædalus* stores.

It seemed as though nothing could be done and, deep down in his heart, Vancouver asked nothing better, perhaps, than to be rid of this lawyer business and once more about his own—the completion of his great survey.

There was but one solution: to refer the dispute to the respective courts of Great Britain and Spain. To-day, such a step would be but a routine move of little or no consequence: then it meant the slow progress of a courier across the world. Mudge, second-lieutenant on the *Discovery*, was detailed by Vancouver for this duty, and sailed on board the *Fenis and St. Joseph* for China—the first move in his long journey to England. ‘To this gentleman,’ wrote Vancouver, ‘I entrusted extracts from the most important parts of my journal, with a copy of our survey of this coast.’

That Mudge was helped upon his way we know from the *Chronicles* of the East India Company to China, where an entry runs:

‘On December 30 the Committee received a letter from Geo. Vancouver Esq, Commander of his Majtys Ship *Discovery* dated “Nootka Sound Sept. 26th 1792. delivered by Lieut. Mudge who is on his way to England charged with my dispatches to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty” and as it is of great importance that he should arrive thither with all possible dispatch, he requested the Committee to do all they could to expedite Lieut. Mudge’s journey. This they did, besides advancing 1000 dollars for his expenses.’

The negotiation, then, had ended, if not in complete

failure, at least in a block that could be removed only by some new complexion to affairs from the old world. It was for both Vancouver and Quadra the termination of a period that, despite the issue between them, had been one of growing mutual regard. There is no mistaking the genuine feeling Vancouver had for Quadra, indeed, in the half million words that make up his record of this voyage of discovery, it is only when he writes of Quadra that the reader becomes aware of the depth of feeling in the man. If one man may love another without thereby losing something of his masculinity, then Vancouver surely loved Bodega y Quadra.

One day, returning towards evening from an excursion to Manquinna, the chief whose evidence in the dubious land transactions of Meares invested him then with a temporary interest and importance, Vancouver landed Quadra from his ship. Quadra, Vancouver tells us, 'very earnestly requested that I would name some port or island after us both, to commemorate our meeting and the very friendly intercourse that had taken place and subsided between us.' And he goes on to tell us that he agreed 'and named the island *Quadra and Vancouver Island*, with which compliment he seemed highly pleased.'

For half a century the name of the Spanish captain remained, linked with his English friend; but since many years it has vanished from all maps, and endures only in the memory of the few.

Quadra sailed out of Friendly Cove on the 22nd of September, saluting Vancouver with thirteen guns and moving off the shore with the echoes of the answering salute upon his ears. With him he carried Vancouver's despatches for London. Menzies mentions in his diary that he treated Quadra for headaches and with some success.

San Francisco was set for their rendezvous what time despatches should arrive from their respective Governments. 'On our arrival,' he says, 'at Nootka, he [Quadra]

put himself under my care for a headache of which he said he complained for upwards of two years and I was extremely gratified that my endeavours was in some measure serviceable towards his recovery before his departure.'

Vancouver now knew he had a year or more in which to continue his exploration of the coast that plagued and yet lured him. He decided to sail southwards down the eastern shore of his island.

At Nootka, Vancouver had accepted as passengers two Sandwich Island girls, who had been brought to Nootka under dubious circumstances by an English captain named Baker. Of them and their alleged abduction we shall hear more later.

On the 12th of October, the *Discovery*, her 'new suit of sails spread,' and the *Chatham*, her hold repaired, sailed, and with them the store-ship *Dædalus*, whose ultimate destiny was Port Jackson, with Vancouver's despatches for Governor Phillip.

Off the mouth of the river whose existence Vancouver had denied, he now ordered Broughton to negotiate the shoals while he stood by in the *Discovery*. Broughton took his smaller ship through, pushed more than a hundred miles up-river, charted it, named its highest point Point Vancouver, and returned after having taken possession of the land in the name of the King, all unawares of the prior claims of the United States, by virtue of Gray's discovery.

On the 14th of November the *Discovery* stood off San Francisco. Two guns greeted her: it was the signal agreed upon between Vancouver and the Spanish captain.

CHAPTER IX

The Spanish Settlements

1792-1793

THE OUTSIDE WORLD

WHEN the *Discovery* sailed down the English Channel on that February morning in the year 1791, the first phase of the French Revolution was being lauded by sage English burgesses.

When she dropped anchor off San Francisco Bay on this November evening in the year 1792, the face of Europe had already changed. The revolution had gone swiftly upon its bloody way ; the Commune and the Jacobin Club had done their work ; Prussia and Austria had invaded France, and within a few brief weeks Louis and his Austrian queen were to go to the guillotine.

Washington had been seven years President of a new republic aristocratic in sentiment and undemocratic in politics. Jefferson was already lining up his forces against Hamilton for the pending political battle. The vast hinterland beyond the Alleghanies was being opened up ; it was a period of political and economic transition.

In England, Burke had written and published his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, and was harassing the Government of Pitt. Opinion had veered, and wiseacre citizens no longer praised a revolution that threatened to cross the English Channel. Enough of its virus had, however, worked upon the Radical element so as to bring about that drastic measure the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. On the other side of the Channel was the new France, with half a million armed men. Opinion in England crystallised, as it has always crystallised at such crises.

In King's Lynn, the customs collector, John Jasper Vancouver, not a little shocked, watched the Sunday procession of his Dissenting fellow townsmen, now free to worship in their chapels (the burdens placed upon them by William III having been removed) and doubtless he thanked God that in these radical days such folk were at least barred from the polling-booths at election time. And strolling to his office by the river, he watched with an understanding eye the movements of the King's officers. The air was electric with the threat of war.

Of what little consequence, then, to their lordships of the Admiralty must have seemed the despatches of a certain Captain Vancouver of the Navy, who had been sent out to take over from Spain, for some reason already half forgotten in the press of events, a remote territory upon the other side of the world! And of what small consequences these charts that crackled from bulky packages, all pencilled over, and white with the salt of the Pacific!

As evening fell Vancouver looked from the deck of his ship towards the bay of San Francisco. Upon its southern side he saw the Spanish settlement, and from the beach, as night fell, he saw the red glow of a fire. The report of guns came to him over the still water and he wondered at their import. But of the terrific events which were even then changing the face of Europe and shaping the destiny of the new Republic in the Western World, he knew nothing. So far as he and his weathered people were concerned the outside world travail might as well have been a drama played out upon a distant star. . . .

SAN FRANCISCO

The grog, happily included with the party's ample provisions, proved welcome. The bank upon which Vancouver subsided stiffly (the high pommel of the Spanish saddle had incommoded him) overhung a murmuring brook

from the surface of which sparkled the sun. The landscape unrolled before them green and beautiful. Menzies, now engrossed, continued to peer into the lush vegetation about them; but Mr. Dobson, consequential and loquacious, continued to play interpreter between his commander and the Spanish Senr. Sal.

The day was Sunday, and they had already ridden out to the Mission of San Francisco, where old Father Antonio Danti and the brethren had welcomed them warmly and put before them such a repast as they had not eaten for many days. Yes, there had been beef, mutton, fish, fowl, and vegetables from the garden, too. And yet, such strange folk were these kindly Spaniards, there was scarce a common utensil in the place.

After the stormy passage down the coast, it was very pleasant sitting here. In such surroundings a man might forget for a bit the problem of the cursed scurvy and other troubles too: the disgraceful behaviour of young Pitt, for example. 'The lad needed the lash. . . .

At the end of an hour the party remounted and rode away. Vancouver now saw a country like a park 'which had been closely planted with the true English oak.' The under-wood all cleared away; then eminences and valleys; and in the distance rugged mountains. A fat and pleasant land, this, of which the Dons had taken possession. But what had they made of it, with their miserable buildings and sluggard people? Nothing! Why, with that garrison of thirty-five this little Don Sal could be wiped out over night by these dubious-looking natives. And if his possession were challenged from the sea he could be drubbed by a single boat party.

No, not what it might be at all, since even this lovely prospect now before them lacked 'the neat habitations of an industrious people to produce a scene not inferior to the most studied effect of taste in the disposal of the ground' to make of it a place to compare with

Sandringham, say, or even with the countryside round about Lynn.

The sun was going over to the west and the scene now changed. The horses sank deep in the mud before the trail improved to carry them to the second of the Missions, that of Santa Clara, where Father Thomas Da la Pena and his lieutenant, the bustling Father Joseph Sanchez, made them welcome and set before them more fabulous fare.

Great talkers, too. So that now the Rev. Father was saying that they regarded the Mission and the *Presidio* of San Francisco (established, my friend, in the year 1775) as the northernmost settlement, of any description, founded by the Court of Spain on the continental shore of North West America, or the adjacent islands.

A point to remember and to record, for, after all, why was he here at all? And what had this pleasant expedition revealed if not that these people, for all their kindliness, had made little of this new-found Canaan of theirs?

Besides, there was the port itself. And what a port! How many like it in the whole world! It would have been a good thing to have made a complete survey all about, but scarcely politic in the commander in an English naval expedition.

At evening the horsemen were once more on the fore-shore, and now there were two ships anchored there. So the *Chatham* had arrived. She would have completed that business in the Columbia River. Broughton could always be trusted to see a thing through—and Whidbey.

There was nothing now to justify further delay in this pleasant place. By nightfall both ships were standing out to sea, by dawn they could discern the Bay of Monterrey, their rendezvous with Senr. Don Quadra, and soon after they saw the *Dædalus* at anchor in the bay.

MONTERREY

Thirteen guns boomed from the *Discovery*, and an answering salute came over the waters of Monterrey Bay from the *Presidio*, where Don Quadra, looking towards the English ships, saw the *Discovery's* topsail hoisted, and his own broad pennant saluted with the same number of guns.

Later that day, sitting at dinner with Quadra in the *Presidio*, Vancouver learned from his host that the Spanish Government had sent despatches directing Quadra to molest no English ship. To Vancouver, this seemed propitious. So long without news of contemporary events, these two commanders knew nothing of European affairs, of that great alliance designated by the symbols: S.H.A.P.E.S.¹ that even then was coalescing against France.

It was high time to make a detailed report. 'Although I might have been materially incommoded by the absence of our little consort,' he wrote, 'in the further prosecution of my voyage, yet the informing of government how far I had been able at this time to carry His Majesty's commands into execution, appeared to me so absolutely indispensable, that I had determined to submit to any inconvenience rather than omit so essential a party of my duty.'

Vancouver decided now to send Lieutenant Broughton home, for Broughton was a cautious man, one who would take no risks with the valuable despatches entrusted to him.²

An entry in Manby's log suggests that there may have been another reason for the selection of Broughton—his health. In an entry dated 6th April he writes: 'Broughton for the *Chatham* who sent her Boat on board to inform us Lieut. Broughton was ill.'

Quadra, about to set out for Saint Blas, proffered his company, his purse, and his signature to assist the young

¹ Spain, Holland, Austria, Prussia, England, and Sardinia.

² p. 216.

officer across New Spain to England, a gesture in character to touch Vancouver's heart, but Quadra was one who gave full measure, pressed down and running over. Soon twelve cows and six bulls, and a like number of rams and ewes, were driven down to the shore—a gift from Quadra to His Britannic Majesty's Colony of New South Wales.

This matter disposed of, Vancouver turned his attention to his ship; there was much to be done. Her decks, battered by the gales and scorched by tropic suns, badly needed caulking, her sails were tattered, and much else stood in need of repair. And, with all this pressing work on hand, the armourer, accompanied by a marine, deserted, and Henry Phillips, the *Chatham's* carpenter, now under arrest, was put aboard the *Dædalus*, bound for Port Jackson.¹

Near by, the *Chatham*, her home voyage cancelled, was making ready, taking aboard provisions from the *Dædalus*. It was while this work went forward that Vancouver visited the Settlement and Mission of St. Carlos, where the good Father President of the missionaries of San Francisco of New Albion, Don Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, honoured him with a peal of bells. He dined and wined with Quadra: Quadra with him, and their friendship grew apace. The more they saw of each other, the greater became the mutual respect between them.

When the *Discovery* put out to sea for the Sandwich Islands there was little about the Spanish settlements at San Francisco and Monterrey that had escaped the keen eye of Vancouver. He had marked San Francisco as the site of a great port; he had noticed and appreciated the potential fertility of the land and the character of its climate. He had marked the inadequate garrisons, and the failure of the missionaries to win over the Indians to anything more than a nominal Christianity based on the material advantages that were to be secured from the kindly, gentle teachers.

¹ p. 218.

In short, he had arrived at an appreciation of the situation that embraced its military and naval, its commercial, agricultural, and political bearings. More: he had a shrewd suspicion of the slow dry rot that was then sapping the vitality of the Spanish people. The spirit of *mañana* was everywhere. Vancouver was not the man to miss the significance of it for his country.

What he felt for his Spanish friends he has himself recorded: 'The venerable and respectable Father President of the Franciscan missionaries, with all the excellent and worthy members of the religious order, together with Senrs. Caamano, Arguello, Sal, and the whole of the Spanish officers with whom we had the honour of being acquainted, demand from us the highest sentiments of esteem and gratitude. Even the common people were entitled to our good opinion and respect, as they uniformly subscribed to the exemplary conduct of their superiors, by a behaviour that was very orderly and obliging.

'To the reverence, esteem, and regard, that was shown Senr. Quadra by all persons and on all occasions, I must attribute some portion of the respect and friendship we received; and consider the general disposition in our favour to have acquired no little energy, by the noble example of that distinguished character.'

On Monday, 7th of January, 1793, the *Discovery* left Monterrey for the Sandwich Islands. She sailed with a Spanish armourer, and minus a marine and carpenter. Before sailing Vancouver wrote a long private letter to his patron, Evan Nepean, of the Admiralty, which shows that he was unquiet in his mind about his failure to settle the Nootka cession and was feeling acutely the inexplicable silence of the Admiralty. He sets forth his difficulties in this letter, and asks that it be preserved and produced in his defence at any future time that might be necessary.¹

¹ p. 219.

The *Dædalus*, having transferred her stores, the carpenters prepared her hold, making stalls for the cattle she was to carry to Port Jackson. On the 29th of December she sailed, her commander, Lieutenant Hanson, carrying two letters from Vancouver to Governor Phillip.¹

¹ p. 223.

CHAPTER X

The Lawgiver

1793

TAMAAHMAAH

VANCOUVER's first visit to the Sandwich Islands had left a deep impression on the islanders, and now, when he came again, they regarded him, if not as a god, then most certainly as a Solomon of the seas whose words were weighted with authority and wisdom. Vancouver realised this, and lost no opportunity to awe the people by invoking the authority of one even greater than himself.

When the clamour for arms became so insistent that he could scarcely make himself heard, he silenced it by solemnly reporting the taboo placed on all muskets and ammunition by the great King George, his master. He never tired of telling King Tamaahmaah, of Owhyhee, that war brought ruin, but, on the other hand, peace and industry meant happiness. He firmly refused to make gifts of arms : but he offered in their place cattle, saying how they would multiply and become of great value to the island.

He regarded the people as children, and treated them accordingly. They would steal, whatever their protestations of friendship, he knew, so he took as motto 'Prevention is better than punishment,' and put all tempting wares out of reach when honoured by the presence of royalty.

He won the complete confidence of King Tamaahmaah, and secured his friendship with a robe of gaudy colour and design that so entranced the monarch that he filled Vancouver's cabin with a babble of delight as he contemplated

himself in two mirrors placed for his convenience at right-angles.

In all his dealings with them, while he treated them as children, Vancouver worked for the natives' welfare, winning them with his gifts and persuading them by his quiet good sense. He seems, indeed, to have had a peculiar insight into the primitive mentality of the islanders, and he wrote of them later with affection.

And yet these were the people who had been implicated in the death of Captain Cook. At Karakakoa Bay he stood silent while explanations and extenuations were proffered him for that affray. But he never thought of reprisals, nor did he bear any grudge against them.

'I had embraced every opportunity,' he wrote, 'and had been with no little difficulty to convince Tamaahmaah, and the chiefs who had been our constant visitors, that a peaceable mode of life was infinitely to be preferred, and more conducive to their real happiness, than the continued state of warfare that had so long disgraced their islands; without any other motive that could be urged as an excuse for despoiling each other's lands, or destroying their fellow-creatures, than a wild and inordinate ambition to possess themselves of each other's territories, which experience had shown them they were incapable of retaining after conquest.'

At Maui, an island reduced to poverty by the wars, he met again Taoi, who came to meet him bearing a robe of feathers as a gift. Taoi recalled their former meeting and the friendship that had existed between them. He referred to the lock of Vancouver's hair which he still treasured among his most precious possessions. And Vancouver, who had no recollection of the gift, recalled how Tianna and Enemoh, a year before, had spoken of this thing. 'The next morning,' Vancouver recorded, 'my old friend Taoi was amongst the earliest of our visitors, and brought with him the lock of hair. It was tied carefully round at the bottom, where it was neatly decorated with some red

feather, and appeared to have been well preserved and held in some degree of estimation. The colour corresponding to that of my own, tended to prove its identity.'

TOWEROO AGAIN

The reader will remember that Vancouver had left the islander Toweroo in the care of Tianna, it is therefore rather remarkable that in his long and detailed account of this visit to the Sandwich Islands, when he met Tianna frequently, that he never mentions the man he had brought all the way from England and landed upon his native isle.

But, if Vancouver omitted to refer to Toweroo, Thomas Manby, the *Discovery's* master's mate did so.

'Toraroo the islander we brought from England,' he wrote, 'begged us to visit his habitation about a mile distant; we accorded and found his residence pleasantly situated in a grove of cocoa nut trees. The chief under whose care we had placed him had punctually fulfilled his promise; and the generous Tomaha Maha had bestowed a considerable portion of Land on him; given him canoes and a female partner the daughter of a man of consequence.'

But Toraroo, or Toweroo, Manby tells us, still hankered after the Otahitian belle who had won his affections the year before. He found the former favourite of London changed: 'He had nearly forgot all his English, and I was sorry to find him not so much respected as I could have wished on that island; on his first landing he made free with that privilege too often used by travellers; his falsehoods were detected and of course contempt ensued.'

A TRIAL FOR MURDER

At Maui, Vancouver conducted a judicial enquiry into the circumstances of the murder of Lieutenant Hergest, Mr. Gooch, and the other members of the *Dædalus's*

company. He offered Titeeree, the chief, immunity, if he would co-operate in bringing the offenders to justice. Vancouver meant to avenge these deaths, but he also intended to invoke the authority of the island chief for that end.

‘I now came to a determination of insisting with Titeeree, that the remaining offenders should be brought to justice : not by any measure of force in our power, but by their own means. That, on their conviction the cause of their punishment should be clearly and satisfactorily known to the islanders, with assurances that no distance of time would in future secure any from detection or prevent the punishment which such crimes demand.’

It was agreed between Vancouver and Titeeree that Tomohomoho should accompany the ship and see that Titeeree’s orders for the arrest and trial of the murderers were carried into effect.

When the *Discovery* sailed for Oahu the ship had become for the time being a floating assize, and behind him Vancouver left a chief convinced of the blessings of peace, a chief determined to wage war no longer upon Owwhyhee.

The *Discovery* arrived off Whyteete Bay, Oahu, where a canoe put out to them in which was James Coleman, one of the three men employed by Kendrick they had come upon the year before. Coleman informed Vancouver that he was now employed by Titeeree as factor upon the island.

Vancouver’s method of conducting the trial is of considerable interest, since he preferred to stand aside and leave the machinery of justice in the hands of Tomohomoho, who acted, as it were, as counsel for the prosecution and judge, with Vancouver as the court of appeal and impartial referee.

The story proved simple enough. Hergest and Gooch and other members of the *Dædalus’s* company had landed

at a point against the advice of a chief. There a dispute arose with the natives. First a Portuguese seaman was killed, then Gooch was stabbed through the heart ; Hergest was first wounded, and then, while making his way to the boat, stoned and finally barbarously murdered.

In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, of 1st of July, 1793, Menzies gave an account of the catastrophe.

“ . . . They [*Dædalus*] afterwards touched at the Sandwich Islands, where they unfortunately lost Lieut *Hagirst*, Mr. Gooch, and one Seaman, at the Island of *Woahoo* on the 10th of May last—the manner in which this melancholy accident happened they say was thus, the Vessel was laying in *Whyteetee* Bay on the South side of *Woahoo*, while they were procuring water & refreshments from the Natives, but Lieut. Hagirst conceiving that the watering was going on rather dilatory, ordered a few empty casks in a boat, in which he and Mr. Gooch went on shore to see the business forwarded ; while the casks were filling they both took a walk back into a neighbouring plantation unarmed, and in the meantime a scuffle happened at the watering place between the boat's Crew and the Natives, in which one Seaman was killed before they could get to some arms they had in the boat with which they landed, and saw at a distance a group of the Natives surrounding Messrs Hagirst & Gooch, and as they thought hustling them both back to the Mountains & stripping them of their Clothes—The Natives' Spears Stones, obliged them to retreat to their boat for safety & it being very late they joined the Ship—Next day an armed boat was sent on shore to demand the two Gentlemen, where they were informed of their being both Massacred on the preceding Evening, & could procure no part of them, as the natives were all armed on an adjacent hill, where it was not in their power to use any compulsive means, further than expending their powder, shot in firing among them.’

The witnesses now stood upon the ship's deck and gave

their account. Tomohomoho cross-examined them ; Coleman acted as interpreter ; Vancouver refereed. The guilty people were identified, but Vancouver had no mind to be party to a miscarriage of justice. And his scrupulosity in this matter reveals him as a just man.

‘Notwithstanding Coleman’s corroborative evidence,’ he wrote, ‘I much wished for further proof before I sanctioned their punishment,’ and, with this object he called on Dobson, a midshipman of the *Dædalus* who had been present, to identify the native.

And even then Vancouver was not yet fully satisfied, and sent ashore for further witnesses, ‘that the criminals might be fairly tried, and that we might have the fullest satisfaction of their guilt which the nature of the case could afford.’

While these precautions against a miscarriage of justice were being taken, Tomohomoho expostulated at the foolish delay and expressed his desire to proceed to the execution. For their safety, Vancouver ordered the men into confinement.

Now Vancouver might well be acquitted of precipitancy if at this point he had returned a verdict of guilty. But he did not. He ordered a party ashore to bring aboard every person they could find who could give evidence of the prisoners’ innocence. The manner in which Vancouver conducted this trial probably did more to enhance the reputation of the English in the Sandwich Islands than any other single event.

Here is his account of the execution :

‘That the ceremony might be made as solemn and as awful as possible, a guard of seamen and marines were drawn up on that side of the ship opposite to the shore, where, also alongside of the ship, a canoe was stationed for the execution. The rest of the crew were in readiness at the great guns, lest any disturbance or commotion should arise. One ceremony however remained yet to be performed. One of these unfortunate men had long hair ; this it was

necessary should be cut from his head before he was executed, for the purpose of being presented, as a customary tribute on such occasions, to the king of the island. I was shocked at the want of feeling exhibited by the two chiefs at this awful moment, who in the rudest manner not only cut off the hair, but, in the presence of the poor suffering wretch, without the least compassion for his situation, disputed and strove for the honour of presenting the prize to the king. The odious contest being at length settled, the criminals were taken one by one into a double canoe, where they were lashed hand and foot, and put to death by Tennavee, their own chief, who blew out their brains with a pistol; and so dexterously was the melancholy office performed, that life fled with the report of the piece and muscular motion seemed almost instantly to cease.'

While Vancouver was shocked at the islanders' method of conducting an execution, they, in turn, were revolted by his suggestion that the bodies should be hung upon a tree near the shore.

TAHEEOPIAH AND TYMAROW

One more piece of business remained to be transacted before the *Discovery* sailed for Nootka and the resumption of the examination of the North-West American continental shore, whither the *Chatham* had already sailed.

This was to put ashore at Whymea the two girls whom he had received aboard at Nootka from the Bristol ship *Jenny*. Although Baker, the master of that ship, had been charged with abducting the girls, Vancouver is at particular pains to set forth that seaman's apologia.

Thus Taheepiah and Tymarow left the *Discovery* and their friend Jack, having seen and even ridden a horse, and witnessed many other marvels in the great outside world. Having, indeed, even learned that clothing might be used as much for the concealment of bodily charms as for warmth.

‘Their European dress,’ says Vancouver, ‘produced a degree of personal delicacy that was conspicuous on many occasions. This dress was a riding-habit, as being best calculated for their situation, and indeed the best in our power to procure . . . in the course of a very short time, she [Taheepiah] became so perfectly familiar to its use in this respect, that in going up and down the ladders that communicate with the different parts of the ships, she would take as much care not to expose her ankles, as if she had been educated by the most rigid governess.’

On the 30th of March they hauled their wind to the north-west, and, with all sails set, bade adieu to the Sandwich Islands and made the best of their way towards Nootka. In the commander’s cabin, Edwin Roberts, one of the *Discovery’s* midshipmen—rated A.B.—began the long labour of elaborating the charts from the rough sketches of the survey parties that had laid down the coasts of the islands visited. It was almost three years since young Roberts had discarded the garb of a Blue Coat Boy for the blue of a sailor.¹

Of this, Vancouver’s second visit to the island during his great voyage, the *History of Hawaii* says :

‘Vancouver spent about three weeks at Hawaii and made shorter stops at Manu, Oahu, and Kanai. To Kanai he returned two girls who had been taken from there to the American coast on a trading vessel. At all these places he was careful to avoid any possibility of trouble with the natives and they in turn showed a most friendly and honourable disposition. From his actions it is clear that Vancouver looked on Kamehameha as the most powerful chief and as a man on whom the greatest reliance could be placed.’

It is said that Vancouver promised to send missionaries to christianise the islands, but evidence in support of this statement is wanting.

¹ p. 227.

CHAPTER XI

Northward Again

1793

SHIPS AND MEN

VANCOUVER had now secured the material for his chart to a point north of Calvert's Island, and had as his present objective the continuation of the work from there in a general northerly direction.

By now both ships and men were beginning to wear a battered air ; the *Chatham*, heaved down, both sides out, on her arrival at Nootka, had been carefully examined by Lieutenant Puget, who found most part of her false keel ripped off, but little copper remaining on her starboard bilge, and the gripe damaged. This condition he had to set about repairing with a crew afflicted by large tumours ; yet when Vancouver arrived at Nootka on the 22nd of May the work had been completed and the *Chatham* was already away up the coast.

Vancouver prepared to follow without delay, and, having written a despatch to Philip Stephens of the Admiralty, and handed it into the friendly care of Senr. Figalgo, the Spanish commandant of the port, he sailed away and came up with the *Chatham* in Fitzhugh's Sound.¹

The expedition had now been three years away, and during this long period not a single message had filtered through to the Pacific from the Admiralty by way of New Holland, despite the fact that already the new settlement was receiving at the vast harbour of Port Jackson consignments of transported convicts for the penal settlements.

Vancouver's work, now made daily more difficult by

¹ p. 228.

the extraordinary intricacies and dangers of the coast along the continental shore, was further hampered by the lowered standard of efficiency of both ships and men, and by his own increasing debility. Several of his people had already been discharged on account of sickness, and sent home on the *Dædalus* by way of Port Jackson, among them the surgeon himself. There is some ground for suggesting that Vancouver had been a sick man from the outset; Mr. Menzies, upon whom he thrust the duties of surgeon in the place of Mr. Cranstoun, tells us, in his journal of the voyage, that he had, in fact, acted for the surgeon from the start, 'as Capt Vancouver did not conceive himself warrantable to make a new Surgeon to fill up the vacancy on board the *Discovery* while I was on the spot, he solicited me to take charge of the Surgeon's duty, as the success of our expedition so much depended on the health & welfare of the Ship's Company, which he could more confidentially entrust to my care, and he urged with a degree of earnestness that I could not well refuse, especially as he requested at the same time that in case of my not accepting of it, to state my having refused it in writing.'

Menzies was far more interested in flowers than physic, but to Vancouver's supplications there was added the veiled threat that his refusal might be later held against him. He therefore accepted, consoling himself with the reflection that, after all, he had been doing the sick surgeon's work already in any case, having 'among other things constantly prescribed for Capt. Vancouver since we left England.'

At this time Vancouver was a young man of but thirty-six years of age, but it has to be borne in mind that he had spent only his childhood on dry land, while the nature of his sea service had been exceptionally arduous and exhausting, even for those days. Nor can there be much doubt that Cook himself was by no means a physically fit man when he met his death. Indeed, exposure, insufficient diet, and prolonged physical strain must have made inroads

upon any but the strongest of constitutions. Rheumatism, phthisis and debility were the sailor's scourges, and from his famous *Voyages of Discovery* we know that Cook suffered much from the first named complaint, and that on one occasion he received from native women a treatment resembling closely what is now known as Swedish massage.

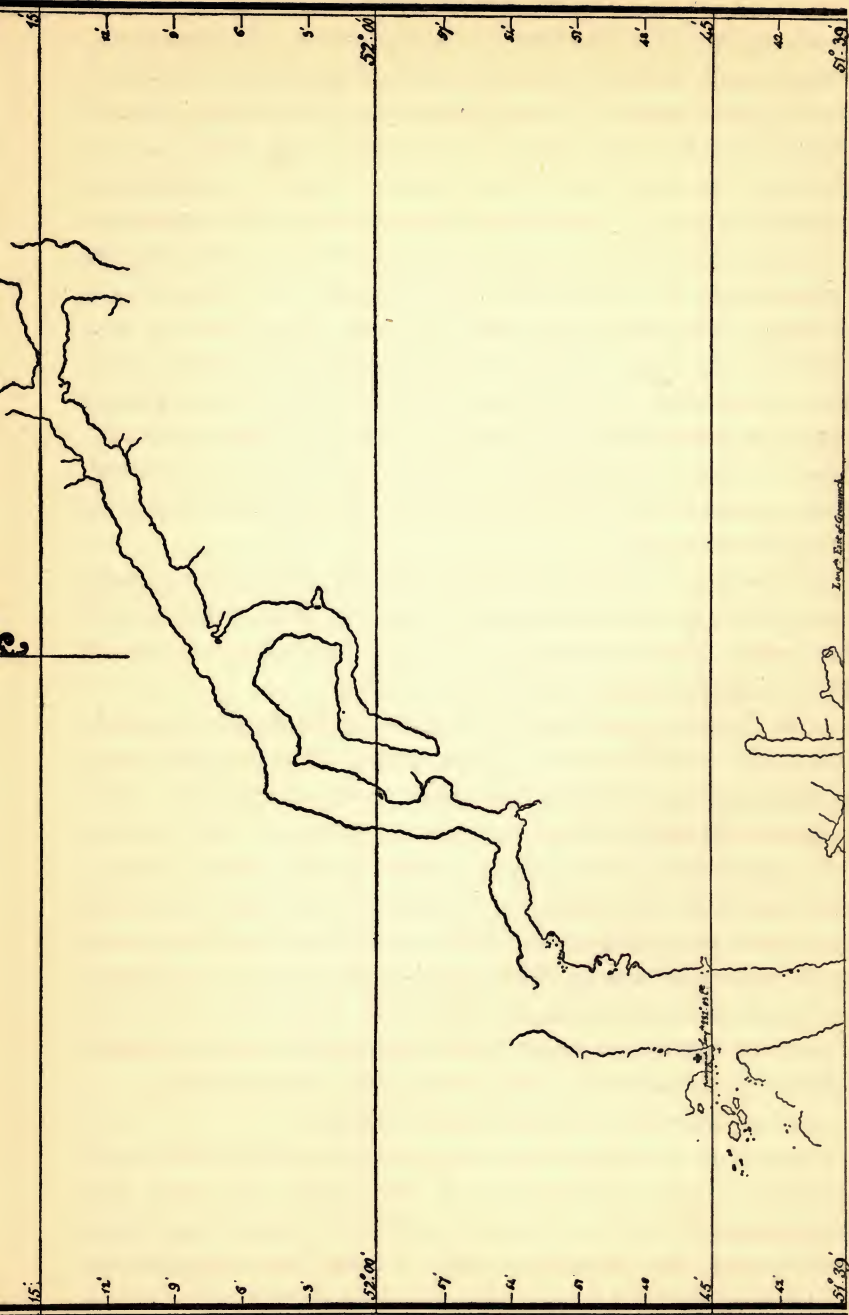
These considerations are stressed because without an appreciation of conditions an estimate of Vancouver's courage, pertinacity, and steadfastness of purpose is not possible. In fact, there is evidence that Vancouver was little more than convalescent when he left Falmouth in 1791; a postscript in a letter of his to Philip Stephens runs: 'I have the pleasure to inform you I have recovered greatly since we left Spithead, have a good appetite and gain strength every day.'

When many good men would have abandoned the quest and, pleading the condition of men and ships, have sailed for home, Vancouver set out from Nootka to work his way far up the coast towards icy Alaska.

The *Discovery* was now at anchor in Fitzhugh's Sound, and there Vancouver set about doing what another man would have set about in the quiet water of Nootka. His ship was leaking badly at the bows. To get at this trouble the copper had to be stripped down to the water's edge; then her after-part needed caulking, and her sails were torn and worn, several spars had been carried away and had now to be replaced; the powder, long unaired, was an anxiety, and had to be brought up and duly exposed to the air. Even the launch, so essential for the mode of close coastal scrutiny habitual with Vancouver, was unseaworthy.

And it rained, day after day it rained.

Busy with his ship, Vancouver did not allow this work to hold up the examination of the coast. He sent Mr. Johnstone off in the *Chatham's* cutter to explore an inlet, and the next day himself set off in the yawl accompanied by Lieutenant Swaine to examine the arm of the inlet named



by him Burke's Channel. He was hard on himself, and hard on his men : but still a wise and far-sighted commander. He looked at those weathered men whom he always referred to as ' my people ' and saw that they moved about their tasks in pain, pre-occupied with the misery of their swellings, and he took action. And here it may be set down in truth that never once in those five long years of privation did Vancouver sink for a moment into inactivity or fail to act as a vigorous and resourceful commander.

He ordered additional wheat and portable soup to be issued, so that each man might have two hot meals every day during their absence in the ships' boats. And, when he further authorised an additional allowance of spirits, he left the quantity to be issued to the discretion of the officers in charge of the boats, showing in this small detail that it was his habit to rely upon and delegate authority to his junior officers.

The work on the *Discovery* went forward slowly. The rain fell, that steady, drenching downpour of the Pacific slope that will quickly penetrate the thickest garments.

Did Vancouver, sitting exposed in the cutter, looking out over the strange and unknown reaches about him, feel the first pangs of a nostalgia for the familiar faces of his childhood ? He could take no observations, because, when he looked up, it seemed as though the sky was little higher than the masts of the *Discovery* ; but before the yawl a harbour showed through a rain curtain, grey and desolate, flanked at its entrance by two small rocky isles.

And, no doubt, Swaine looked towards it, too, and then at his commander, with the question in his eye : What shall this place be called, sir ?

Surely Vancouver's thoughts were away in King's Lynn with his beloved brother, when he set down the name Port John upon his sketch ?

And presently the wind sprang up as they moved along the foot of precipitous shores, until at midnight they betook

themselves wearily ashore, and slept exhausted in a morass beneath those towering cliffs that screened them from the wind but gave no shelter from the rain.

The geographical significance of Vancouver's work, and the steadfastness with which he kept before him the main objective—namely, the close examination of this intricate continental shore for an opening that should link the two great oceans—were to be so thorough that there could never again be claims by other mariners where his small boats had pushed their noses.

A glance at his Great Chart, upon which his tortuous course is indicated, rouses nothing but admiration for the man under whose leadership it was prepared, and whose enduring monument it is. With equipment that by modern standards would be deemed inadequate for a circumnavigation of the British Isles, with defective diet and crews long since grown weary of their task and miserable condition, Vancouver never permitted the standard of the work done by each boat party to fall away ; nor did he accept a second best, or a shrewd guess where he might ascertain the truth beyond peradventure.

Following this laborious procedure, bringing the two ships to anchor, and from them sending out the exploring parties, Vancouver worked his way during this summer survey to the place he named Port Protection, which is upon the northern end of the Prince of Wales Archipelago (the island of the modern charts).

One of the most remarkable boat expeditions of this survey was led by Vancouver himself, and illustrates what has been said of him—namely, that he drove himself as hard as he drove his people.

The two ships, after a severe battering, had run into a spacious expanse of water surrounded by mountainous country, thickly wooded. Here the *Discovery* anchored some fifty yards off the shore and about an equal distance from her consort. The tents and instruments, as usual,

were taken ashore so that astronomical observations could be made, and the Union Jack flew from an improvised staff. They had been conducted to this place, named Observatory Inlet, by the master of the *Butterworth*, one of the three schooners from London unexpectedly encountered near Stephen's Island—a terrific event in that isolation.

From the master of the *Butterworth* Vancouver learnt enough of the coast thereabouts to make him determine on a very thorough examination of it. He decided to go in person, and for this purpose the *Discovery's* yawl and launch were equipped with a fortnight's provisions. As so often before, Swaine went with Vancouver, while Puget was accompanied by Menzies.

TRAITORS' COVE

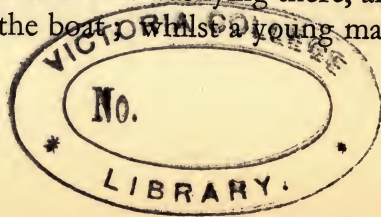
On this expedition Vancouver nearly lost his life under circumstances somewhat resembling the affray of Kealakekua Bay on the 14th February, 1779. (Aug 11, 1793)

The party had made their way down the eastern side of Revilla Gigedo Island, being then about a hundred and forty miles from the ships, when a number of natives were encountered. Vancouver landed to trade with them, leaving Puget in the yawl; when he returned to the boat Puget reported that the natives had been trying to steal with some persistence. Vancouver ordered the boat off from the shore. The natives, shouting '*winnee watter*,' strove to detain them.

Vancouver has described what followed :

'We had however put off from the rocks, and had partly got the use of our oars, without being obliged to resort to any hostile measures, when the largest of the canoes, under the steerage of an old woman, with a remarkably large lip ornament, laid us on board across the bow; this vixen instantly snatched up the lead line that was lying there, and lashed her canoe with it to the boat, whilst a young man,

Hv



appearing to be the chief of the party, seated himself in the bow of the yawl, and put on a mask resembling a wolf's face,¹ compounded with the human countenance. About this time the Indian who had first visited us, watching his opportunity, stole a musket out of the boat. Our situation was now become very alarming ; we had discovered too late the treacherous designs of these people, and, to add to our embarrassment, the launch was yet too far distant to afford us any immediate succour. The only chance we had for our preservation was, if possible, to ward off the blow by a kind of parley, until our friends might come up, who were hastening with their utmost exertions¹ to our assistance. With these ideas, I went forward with a musket in my hand in order to speak to the chief ; on which the surrounding Indians, about fifty in number, seized their daggers, brandished their spears, and pointed them towards us in all directions. I was not yet without hopes of effecting an amicable separation, without being under the necessity of resorting to extremities. The chief instantly quitted the boat at my request, and gave me to understand by signs, that if I would lay down my musket, his people would lay down their arms ; on my disposing of my gun, the conditions were complied with on all sides, and tranquillity appeared likely to be restored ; nor do I believe that any thing further would have happened, had they not been instigated by the vociferous efforts of their female conductress ; who seemed to put forth all the powers of her turbulent tongue to excite, or rather to compel the men, to act with hostility towards us. Her language appeared to have most effect upon those who were towards the stern of the boat, and who were likewise greatly encouraged by a very ferocious looking old man in a middling sized canoe.'

This old man seized their oars while his people began to brandish their spears. Vancouver made signs for peace,

¹ The four great divisions of British Columbian Indians (Vancouver's *New Georgia*) are the Wolf, the Eagle, the Finback Whale, and the Raven.

but, passing back along the boat after speaking with Puget, spears were thrust at him, and a general raid upon the movables in the boat was begun.

‘Our destruction now seemed inevitable; as I could hardly flatter myself that the force we had to oppose against the number that surrounded us, and, as it were, held us so completely within their power, would have been sufficient to make them retire.’

Vancouver now noted that the launch was coming to their aid and was already within pistol-shot. He decided that the time had arrived when he would have to give the order to open fire, and gave it. The natives leapt from their canoes into the water and used them as cover, and in this way retired to the shore in disorder. Vancouver ordered the arms to be taken from the chest, the boat to be pulled in to the shore, where he meant to exact reprisals by the destruction of the canoes.

The natives had retired to high, rocky cliffs, from which they pelted the sailors with stones. They were armed with the stolen muskets, all of which were loaded. The launch was now with them; two men, wounded in the fight, were being given first aid by Menzies. After lying on their oars for a quarter of an hour, the two boats pulled away.

Vancouver named this point Escape Point, and the place, a league to the north, where they had first sighted the natives, he called ‘Traitors’ Cove (the Traitor Bay of the modern charts).

Vancouver, who seems to have been always anxious to get the viewpoint of his opponents, came to the conclusion that these natives had been hoaxed by unscrupulous fur-traders with muskets so defective that they exploded on being fired, and were consequently hostile to white men.

This skirmish took place on the 11th of August. The party had been away from the ships eighteen days. The boats now proceeded south towards them. Their two wounded men lay in improvised bunks. Coming upon an

island about a mile from the eastern shore, Vancouver named it Betton's Island, 'after our wounded shipmate,' a gesture that goes a long way to reveal the man. Not less revealing is the fact that the wounded did not deflect him from his purpose. He completed his survey, and returned to find all on board suffering the greatest anxiety for the party's welfare.

During that single boat expedition Vancouver had explored Portland Canal and Behm's Canal, naming both; and had circumnavigated the island which he named Revilla Gigedo, in honour of the Viceroy of New Spain. In the four months spent upon this work, from the time of leaving Nootka to their return, these two small ships, using their boats systematically, delineated and charted this convoluted and involuted coast for the first time, to a point 56° N. They delineated and surveyed Burke Channel, Dean Channel, and Bentinck Arm, like the three fingers of a hand, poked their way cautiously among the maze of islands south of Milbank Sound, working up the narrow neck of water between the mainland and Princess Royal Island, explored Gardner's Canal, and, north of it, Douglas Canal. They crept up Grenville Canal, between the mainland and Pitt Island, and passed along both prongs of the fork formed by Observatory Inlet and Portland Canal. Everywhere Vancouver scattered English names: the names of naval friends, of statesmen, of friends in his early youth, of his brother, of Spanish nabobs, of Norfolk worthies: he even remembered that silent correspondent, Philip Stephens of the Admiralty, to whom, presently, at Nootka, he was to indite yet another report.

But, here again, he failed to recognise the presence of a great river, even though he stood within its mouth and named there Port Essington, he failed to realise the dimensions of the Skeena. But this in no wise constitutes a parallel with those other failures of his—the Columbia and Fraser Rivers. Now his objectives were to chart the coast

and explode yet another sea legend. De Fuca's claim he had already settled by proving that his reputed strait led but back to the Pacific, now he was to prove the non-existence of De Fonte's legendary passage.

Summarising the summer's work, Vancouver says, with characteristic under-statement :

'My mind was by no means satisfied with the small extent, in a direct line, which had been examined during the late Summer yet I derived great consolation in the reflection that, in all probability, we had overcome the most arduous part of our task, and that our future researches would be attended with less disappointment and fatigue. And, further, that should the information we had thus obtained reach Europe, there would no longer remain a doubt as to the extent or the fallacy of the pretended discoveries said to have been made by De Fuca, and De Fonte, De Fonta, or Fuentes.'

Success in the discovery of a North-West Passage meant a prize of £20,000. Vancouver, if one may infer as much from the tone of his own writings, found as much satisfaction in demonstrating the fallacy of the strange charts and stories of those old voyagers as he might have shown in confirming them and thereby enriching himself.

The two ships reached Nootka on the 5th day of October, after experiencing 'adverse winds, calms, thick, rainy, or foggy weather.'

Vancouver had hoped to find the *Dædalus* here, from Port Jackson, with much needed supplies. She was not there, however, nor could Senr. Saavadra, the commandant of the port, give him any news of her.

CHAPTER XII

The Southern Track

1793-1794

SENR. ARRILLAGA

HITHERTO, Vancouver's intercourse with the Spanish on the Pacific had been notably cordial. His orders marched with his personal inclinations in desiring amity and goodwill, and everywhere, up to this time, he and his people had met not only with civility but with a degree of kindly helpfulness to which he bears witness again and again.

Vancouver arrived at San Francisco on the 19th of October, some days ahead of the *Chatham*, which had been directed by him to examine the port of Bodega. Here he anticipated a period of rest and refreshment, for this port and Monterrey held many pleasant memories for him. The *Discovery*, then, came to anchor in San Francisco Bay with keen anticipations of a hearty welcome, of friendly help in the work of repairing the ships, and with high hopes of receiving through the commandant despatches from London, and from him, too, maybe, word of the Chatham's deserters.

When friendly Senr. Sal boarded the *Discovery* he was able to give Vancouver gratifying news from Europe, 'up to so late a date as the preceding February.' Thus Vancouver was made acquainted with those events of the year of which a broad outline has been given. When Sal returned to the shore, Vancouver was in high spirits, but next morning the Spanish attitude had completely and unaccountably changed. Senr. Sal now asked formally the duration of the ship's stay in the Spanish port, and intimated

that by the orders of his superior officer no individual from the ship would be allowed on shore save to obtain water and wood, with the exception of Vancouver himself and one lieutenant or midshipman. 'These restrictions,' says Vancouver, 'were of a nature so unexpected, ungracious, and degrading, that I could not but consider them as little short of a dismissal from San Francisco, and I was left in the greatest perplexity to account for a reception so totally different from what we had experienced on a former occasion.'

He was soon to comprehend the cause of them, for since his previous call, Captain Arrillaga had been appointed Governor-General of the province, with headquarters at Monterrey, and it was on this officer's instructions that Sal had been requested to adopt this discourteous attitude towards the officers of a Power now allied in arms with his own country.

Vancouver decided to sail for Monterrey directly the *Chatham* arrived at San Francisco, and there to deal directly with the unfriendly Don. The two ships sailed for that port on the 24th of October, seeing the following day the welcome sails of the *Dædalus* in pursuit of them from Nootka.

At Monterrey, Vancouver exchanged salutes and called upon Senr. Arrillaga. But the Spaniard declined to enter into any verbal discussion and desired Vancouver to put upon paper anything he cared to communicate.

Of the deserters he learnt that they had been captured and sent to St. Blas; and Vancouver, punctilious to his undertaking to Quadra, thereupon discharged ashore the Spanish armourer whose services Quadra had put at his disposal. There were no home despatches for him.

Arrillaga appears, from the correspondence that passed after this interview, to have been more like an attorney than a soldier; in a word, he told Vancouver to take aboard necessary supplies and get out without delay. Vancouver, incensed, informed Arrillaga in writing of his former

courteous reception, and enclosed with his protest a copy of the written assurances he had received from the Viceroy of Mexico, whose name he had in friendliness conferred upon the islands mentioned earlier.

Arrillaga replied to the effect that he interpreted the Viceroy's invitation to be intended for one visit and no more, and enclosed the copy of a letter from Quadra in which this same attitude was expressed.

In short, Arrillaga made himself thoroughly objectionable to the weary men of the battered ships, even assigning them a landing-place adjacent to the slaughter house, malodorous from discarded offal.

Now, Vancouver had very pronounced views upon the respect due to his service, and he declined to treat further with this insolent Spaniard, and determined, after examining the coast according to plan, to sail to the Sandwich Islands again.

The ships therefore left San Francisco and continued the examination of the continental shore. The correspondence that passed between Arrillaga and Vancouver, and the latter's despatch to Philip Stephens of the Admiralty, make it perfectly clear that he had been scurvily treated; yet he appears to have harboured little ill feeling, for, a few days after these events, he added to his chart the name Point Sal.

SANTA BARBARA

At Santa Barbara the ships dropped anchor and Vancouver's own description of the famous beauty spot is not without interest for those familiar with the great modern city.

'About two in the afternoon we passed a small bay, which appeared likely to have afforded good anchorage, had it not been for the bed of seaweed that extended across its entrance and indicated a shallow rocky bottom.

‘Within the bay a very large Indian village was pleasantly situated, from where we were visited by some of its inhabitants ; amongst whom was a very shrewd intelligent fellow, who informed us, in the Spanish language, that there was a mission and a Presidio not much further to the eastward. About five in the evening this establishment was discerned in a small bay, which bore the appearance of a far more civilised place than any other of the Spanish settlements. The buildings appeared to be regular and well constructed, the walls clean and white, and the roofs of the houses were covered with a bright red tile. The Presidio was nearest to the sea shore, and just showed itself above a grove of small trees producing with the rest of the buildings a very picturesque effect.’

For Vancouver, more given to details strictly defined by his work, this passage is a rare flight.

Here Vancouver was warmly received by the commandant, Senr. Don Goycochea, who set no limits to his freedom, or that of his men. Vancouver was delighted, but having in his mind a vague suspicion that the explanation of his bad reception at the two previous Spanish ports was the outcome of misconduct by his men on the earlier visits, he now issued strict orders that no man from the ships should go out of sight of the Presidio.

Here, too, once more Vancouver met with great kindness from the brethren of the mission of Buena Ventura, and throughout there is no mistaking his respect for the Catholic proselytisers on the Pacific coast.

With this tiny village, Vancouver was greatly impressed, both with its natural loveliness and possibilities as a port of the future.

‘To sail into the bay,’ he wrote, ‘or more properly speaking through the roadstead of Sta Barbara, requires but few directions, as it is open and without any kind of interruption whatever ; the soundings on approaching it are regular, from 15 to 3 fathoms. The shores of the

roadstead are for the most part low, and terminate in sandy beaches, to which however its western point is rather an exception, being a steep cliff moderately elevated; to this point I gave the name Point Felipe, after the commandant of Sta Barbara.'

At San Diego, Vancouver was received by the commandant, Senr. Antonia Grajero, with great courtesy, and this despite the fact that four days earlier the commandant had received terse instructions to restrict and impede the British ships in every way; instructions, needless to say, from Arrillaga.

There were now aboard the *Discovery* a large number of sketches and calculations with which Vancouver was anxious to set young Roberts to work upon the finished chart. This work was now carried out on shore, where Vancouver composed a long despatch to Philip Stephens of the Admiralty, which together with his chart and copies of the correspondence bearing upon his reception at San Francisco and Monterrey,¹ he entrusted to Senr. Grejaro; with him he also left a letter for Senr. Quadra, at St. Blas, in which he placed copies of all his surveys for the use of His Catholic Majesty. To that chart, not long after, Vancouver added Point Grejaro.

On the 14th of December, having then reached San Domingo, the most southerly point of the Spanish settlements, Vancouver decided to make his way to the Sandwich Islands, remarking: 'Where I could firmly rely on the sincerity of Tamaahmaah, and the professions of the rest of our *rude uncivilised friends* in those islands, for a hearty welcome, a kind reception and every service and accommodation.'

LOOKING FORWARD

Vancouver's summary of his impressions of the New Albion of Drake ('or, as the Spaniards frequently called the

¹ pp. 231-250.

same country, New California ') are rather remarkable as an instance of his keen prevision.

His appreciation of the vast potentialities of the Pacific at a time when the world knew little of it, and cared less, when the only people to penetrate there besides the Spanish were fur-traders in search of sea-otter, is really extraordinary. He analysed the potential dangers of the Spanish policy of secrecy ; noted the character of that people and put his finger upon the essential weakness of their administration. He realised that this country, with its vast seaboard and rich and fertile hinterland, must one day become thickly peopled by a race virile enough to hold and develop it. He undoubtedly foresaw the dispossession of the Spanish, who sat in that fat land with nothing but a skeleton garrison to guard their new Canaan.

He indicated the fertile tracts of land north-west of San Diego as equal to the finest of English agricultural land. He realised the cultural value to the natives of the Catholic missions, but was not deceived, when he encountered christianised Indians, by their mock piety. He knew them too well. But, even so, he saw that these simple-minded priests were bringing to these backward people the arts of the weaver, the potter and the husbandman.

He put a firm finger upon his chart and indicated in turn each one of the great ports that were to arise upon the empty land to fulfil his prophecy, just as he had, in Puget Sound, uttered similar prophetic words, foretelling the future development of that great coastal region.

That so rich a country should be so inadequately garrisoned filled him with astonishment, and he wondered at the myopia of the Court of Madrid. In a passage remarkable for its prevision, he concludes his survey of this now populous seaboard in these words :

'The advantages that have already been derived, and are likely still to accrue, in the prosecution of a well-conducted trade, between this coast and China, India, Japan and other

places, may on some future day, under a judicious and well-regulated establishment, become an object of serious and important consideration, to any nation that shall be inclined to reap the advantages of such a commerce.

‘The importance of such a trade, politically considered, or the value of it, when duly appreciated, to private adventurers, I shall leave to the decision of those who are better informed on such subjects ; because I had no opportunity of receiving satisfactory information upon matters of that intricate nature.’

CHAPTER XIII

King George Men

1794

ISLAND POLITICS

VANCOUVER returned once more to Owhyhee with his evangel of peace, and the people of Tamaahmaah greeted the ships from their canoes 'with shouts of joy and gladness.' And presently the king himself came aboard and greeted his friend and counsellor, the great King George man.

The *Discovery* moved along the coast of Owhyhee towards Karakakoa Bay ; a strong gale blew from the north, bringing a heavy sea from that quarter ; Tamaahmaah and his retinue sailed with them.

There is a tradition referred to in the chronicles of the islands and elsewhere, but nowhere, it seems, confirmed, that Vancouver aspired to christianise the people, and it may be so. But that he found abundant opportunity to exercise and develop a natural capacity for statesmanship, and exhibited ability to apply broad principles to the exigencies of a political and social problem of some intricacy, there can be no doubt whatsoever.

He had seen from the first the virtues of these people, their fundamentally childlike character, with all that is implied thereby of greed, chicane and artlessness, and his shore instructions show how anxious he was to obviate any unpleasant incidents between the islanders and his men.¹ Vancouver saw that internecine wars were ruining a people singularly blessed in their physical heritage and fecund environment. And with a clarity of vision none too

¹ p. 250.

common in those who handle great affairs professionally, he saw the remedy in the dominance of one paramount chief of character before whom all others would have to yield.

In the short time now at his disposal, a mere matter of weeks, he set to work to propagate his ideas. In securing the friendship of Tamaahmaah, the most forceful personality in Owhyhee, Vancouver showed uncommon perspicacity, for the king thereby became the tool for his purpose. This was his last visit to the islands, and he may have realised that it was to be so, for he lost no time in working his will upon the king, for whom, as we know, he had a very deep and genuine admiration.

So Tamaahmaah became the instrument of the sailor's purpose, which was to set the islands free from the curse of war and to put them on the road to ordered progress. Without that one strong link with these people, Vancouver was impotent, however vivid his keen sense of statecraft, and here was the link, in the cabin of the *Discovery*, examining with the avid covetousness of a child the tinsel presents passed to him across the table.

Vancouver's ways of handling this sovereign were sometimes those of a wily mother with a refractory child; at others those of the stern, unbending father. Of his justice they had already had a taste: and of his clemency also. Now they were to find him wise.

So it was that Tamaahmaah sat with Vancouver upon his ship, flouting the priestly taboo, and Vancouver watched him, knowing that here was the man through whom he could effect the reforms he purposed for the islands.

Now Tamaahmaah had troubles of his own, for his queen, Tahow-man-noo, was suspected by him of adultery with Tianna, and the royal pair were estranged in consequence. This, Vancouver saw, was one way by which he might accomplish and pursue his purpose. This weathered seaman, in his faded blue, a stranger even to the society of

his own country women, and unmarried, schemed to act the part of mediator between the king and his consort. Success in this enterprise meant a path smoothed for his political aims.

Vancouver set about learning the circumstances of the affair through the loquacious members of the king's retinue, and thus became aware that the queen was anxious for a reconciliation—which may well have seemed half his battle already won. Armed with this knowledge, Vancouver approached the king with the direct question: Could he assert that he was himself without offence in this matter? Tamaahmaah answered in the negative, pleading, however, 'that his high rank and supreme authority was a sort of licence for such indulgences.'

Vancouver next enlisted the services of the queen's relatives, and therefore lost no opportunity to expatiate upon the virtue of forgiveness to the king, wisely refraining from indicating to Tamaahmaah the political consequences of obstinacy, namely the inevitable alienation of the queen's people, and a probable coalition of chiefs against him as king.

Tamaahmaah, it happened, secretly desired a happy issue and held back only because of his royal pride, which shrank from direct overtures, or even through the intermediacy of a chief. But Vancouver stood upon another and unique footing: a loved friend to be trusted, a King George man. Yes, he could submit to that.

Vancouver contrived the business in a manner worthy of a wily woman. He plotted with the king to save the monarch's face. The scheme was simple, the estranged pair were to be brought face to face, but as though by chance. To this the king agreed. The queen and her women were to be invited aboard and conducted to Vancouver's cabin, there to receive gifts. At a given signal, the king was to board the ship and, hurriedly announcing great news in a loud voice, was to break into Vancouver's cabin, simulate

surprise at the unexpected encounter and thus overcome the impediment of his pride.

Vancouver has recorded the tableau :

‘The instant that he saw her his countenance expressed great surprise, he became immediately silent, and attempted to retire ; but having posted myself for the especial purpose of preventing his departure I caught his hand, and joining it with the queen’s, their reconciliation was instantly complete.’

CESSION OF OWHYHEE

Vancouver now set about consolidating his success. These islands, fertile and beautiful, set in mid-Pacific, were a prize worth securing for the British crown. But not by force of arms, for the business of this expedition was pacific. There remained only one other way : cession. The argument Vancouver advanced to the king, leaving him to debate the matter in private with the chiefs, was that of protection. It was a cogent argument, namely, that King George could and would protect the islands from the molestations of passing ships.

Nevertheless, Vancouver stipulated, Tamaahmaah himself must bow the knee, must acknowledge himself and his people as subjects of the British Crown, and ‘that they should supplicate that power to guard them against any future molestation.’

Thus, after many preliminary festivities, the king put the proposition to the chiefs, who declared that they were no longer *tarrata no Owhyhee* (people of Owhyhee), but *tarrata no Britannee* (people of Britain), which change of sovereignty was acclaimed by the assembled throng.

The British colours were then and there run up by Peter Puget, and Owhyhee taken possession of in the King’s name. A salute was fired from both ships, and then Vancouver caused to be set up in the king’s abode the following declaration inscribed on copper :

Having visited the Island of Owhyhee in the years 1792, 1793, and 1794, but particularly in the latter year, when we remained in Karakakooa Bay from the 14th of January to the 26th of February, I beg leave to inform all commanders of Vessels, &c. that we have been treated with the greatest friendship, attention and hospitality by the whole of the inhabitants of this Island, but particularly by Tamaah Chuaah, its King; to whose particular care I would recommend all visitors to entrust themselves, notwithstanding we have been treated with the greatest attention and civility by every other Chief: they are, however, to be treated with proper caution. Kahow Modoo, in one instance, having not altogether acted equal to the character I have given of him in writing, on my former visit.

Tamaah Chuaah's conduct has been of the most princely nature, supplying us with every refreshment the Island affords, and other necessaries, without the unpleasant task of bartering for such things, and for his friendly and good behavior I caused a large boat to be built and given him, called the *Britannia*, his name.

‘On the 25th of February, 1794, Tamaahmaah, king of Owhyhee, in council with the principal chiefs of the island, assembled on board his Britannic Majesty’s sloop *Discovery* in Karakakooa bay, and in the presence of George Vancouver, commander of the said sloop; Lieutenant Peter Puget, commander of his said Majesty’s armed tender the *Chatham*; and the other officers of the *Discovery*; after due consideration, unanimously ceded the said island of Owhyhee to his Britannic Majesty, and acknowledged themselves to be subjects of Great Britain.’

These islands, however, though undoubtedly ceded, were never a British possession, since the cession was never confirmed by the Government, then far too preoccupied with affairs in Europe to concern itself with obscure islands in mid-Pacific.

Several acute minds, however, had formed a just estimate of the importance of the Hawaiian group; among the first, Don José Martinez, who commanded Nootka at the time of the seizure of the ships which resulted in the international dispute between England and Spain. Martinez envisaged a Spanish monopoly of the fur trade, with its base at Nootka and a port of call on the Canton route at Hawaii. In his manuscript journal elaborating this argument, Martinez wrote: ‘Furthermore, their land, which abounds in everything that is necessary, is placed in the centre of the Pacific Ocean at an almost equal distance from San Blas, Nootka, Prince William, Siberia, Japan, the Philippines, and Canton. . . . Lastly, as proof of their fertility, these islands support a population of 400,000 souls, and they have succoured with provisions all ships that have touched at them, as all who come to Nootka will testify.’

Meares, likewise, spoke of the Hawaiian group eulogistically, and Manby in the manuscript previously quoted, wrote: ‘Should Great Britain ever attempt to colonise any part of the North-West coast of America, these islands will give them a very ample store of provisions, and provided

industry is closely pursued, a sufficiency of Rum and Sugar might with ease be provided not only to supply our own settlements, but to carry a large quantity annually to the Chinese market.'

The failure of Great Britain to confirm the cession was an omission now difficult to comprehend.

The peace Vancouver had made possible through the consolidation of the archipelago under King Tamaahmaah I was not to prove a permanent one; but the islands, after his visit, made great progress. The king was succeeded by Liholiho who adopted the name Tamaahmaah II—a name variously spelt by contemporary writers, but one apparently later conventionalised into Kamehemeha—the enlightened monarch who abolished idolatry.

In the early nineteenth century the Spanish missionaries crossed from California and converted the islands and introduced here, as they had done in California, the crafts of weaving, sewing and so on.

In 1843 the French and British Governments guaranteed the independence of the islands; but the simple folk were unequal to the task of self-government, and after a revolution, a pocket republic was set up in 1894. The islands would have been annexed by the United States at that time, but for the opposition of President Cleveland, and four years later the annexation was an accomplished fact.

Of the early visitors to the islands, Vancouver stands easily first in his constructive work for the welfare of the people. La Pérouse had visited them in 1786 on an expedition of a similar kind in the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, and Meares, too, appreciated the value of their strategic position, but neither of these navigators had put himself about as did Vancouver to help a charming, friendly and virile people towards the art of government.

Take but one aspect of the work Vancouver did—his persistent efforts to arouse in the Hawaiians realisation of the supreme importance of preserving the cattle he landed

on their shores. To obviate the danger of reckless slaughtering, he persuaded the king to make all cattle taboo, reserving the royal right to kill and eat beef. And that the succulence of good steak might be appreciated and consequently valued, Vancouver invited the chiefs aboard his ship to taste the novel dish.

During this visit, besides the many problems tackled by him, Vancouver completed a survey of the archipelago, a chart that is executed with the same care and meticulousness as the great chart of the long Pacific continental shore.

Although Vancouver is silent on the point, it was probably during this visit to the Sandwich Islands that he discharged young Pitt ashore. Pitt had been a source of trouble throughout the voyage, and it seems unlikely that Vancouver would have taken so drastic a step without adequate reasons. The *Farington Diary* gives the actual date of his discharge ashore here as 7th February, 1794, at which date Vancouver appears to have been preoccupied with preparations for the construction of the *Britannia*.

At this time the insubordinate midshipman was actually Lord Camelford, his father, the first baron, having died on 19th June in the previous year, a fact of which neither he nor Vancouver was aware.

Pitt, or Lord Camelford, had not been the most unpopular member of the expedition. He was on terms of close friendship with the American-born Robert Barrie, his quarter-deck comrade, who later rose to flag rank; it was a friendship that lasted throughout the brief hectic career of this extraordinary man, as will be seen in due course. Pitt also seems to have been on good terms with Mudge, who, feeling himself aggrieved at a later date by the promotion over his head of Puget, approached Lady Camelford to plead his cause with Lord Spencer, which she did with success. But upon this dramatic island episode, Vancouver is unfortunately silent.

When the *Discovery* sailed for Cook's River in March,

there was a sizable ship building in Karakakoa Bay, a job started at Vancouver's orders by the carpenters of the *Discovery*, the completion of which was to be left to Young and Davie, sailor settlers, and Boit, formerly mate on the famous *Lady Washington*.

Also left behind was 'our faithful shipmate Terehooa (otherwise Jack), who, to the last moment, conducted himself with the greatest integrity and propriety, [he] was also left very advantageously situated under the protection of the king and his old master Kahowmotoo, with a large assortment of useful implements, and ornamental articles.'

The *Chatham* still 'crank,' the two ships parted company, to meet at Cook's River, according to the prearranged rendezvous.¹

On February 8th, Vancouver had sent yet another despatch home, giving it into the care of Lieutenant Hanson,* who left that day in the *Dædalus* for Port Jackson, having transferred stores to the two ships sufficient to carry them on their way for another long year.

There was only one shadow on Vancouver's mind when he left the islands, the presence there of 'a banditti of renegadoes, that had quitted different trading vessels in consequence of disputes with their respective commanders who had resorted to this island since the preceding year under American or Portuguese colours. Amongst them was one Portuguese, one Chinese, and one Genoese, but all the rest appeared to be the subjects of Great Britain, as seemed also the major part of the crew of the brig *Washington*, although they called themselves Americans.'

These mariners, it seems, attached themselves to minor chiefs on the islands and acted as their political and military advisers, being generally bad counsellors, and instigators of strife. Vancouver refers to their activities more than once, speaking of complaints heard concerning 'a similar set of vagabonds, residing at Woahoo and at Attowai; who had,

¹ p. 252.

² p. 253.

at the latter place, taken up arms in support of an inferior chief . . . and had so far forgotten their allegiance, and the rules which humanity, justice and common honesty prescribe, as to concert with the natives of Attowai, a plan for the capturing of an American brig, called the *Hancock*.'

Of this last visit of Vancouver to Owhyhee, Mr. Ralph Kuykendall, historian of Hawaii, after referring to the part played by Vancouver in island politics, says : 'The visits of Vancouver made a deep impression on the Hawaiian people. They remembered particularly his refusal to sell guns and ammunition and his effort to bring the chiefs of the different islands to live at peace with one another.'

CHAPTER XIV

Alaska

1794

CLOSET PHILOSOPHERS

THERE was in the eighteenth century a school of theoretical geographers who worked upon the scanty and often conflicting data brought back by adventurers into the waters of the Pacific. These theorists, whom Vancouver refers to contemptuously as 'closet philosophers,' playing with this geographic jig-saw in the seclusion of their studies, strove to make geographic fact fit geographic theory.

The nature of the charts laid before them was such that close scrutiny and the oral examination of their makers were obvious preliminaries to their acceptance. In fact, many of these claims were so contradictory as to cancel each other out. They were mostly the work of adventurers without proper astronomical and nautical instruments or training for such scientific work, and many of the stories were patently false. Yet these were the men who cheerfully filled in the gaps in the charts of Cook. They showed the North-West coast of America as so broken by the waters of the Pacific that the 'closet philosophers' leapt to the conclusion that they had at last solved the great problem of the passage from ocean to ocean.

The argument went something like this.

South of the Straits of Anian, Admiral De Fonte, De Fonta or De Fuentes, had discovered the strait named after him, passing into it through the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, and thence into a great land-locked sea. The existence of this strait and sea were beyond dispute, since there was the

evidence of Nicolas Shapely in support of it, for had not the Bostonian actually met the Spanish admiral in that sea?

Now, that sea lay between 44° and 60° latitude, and 126° and 152° longitude. Very good. What had De Fuca claimed?

Just this: that he had sailed through a strait between 47° and 48° latitude into a vast mediterranean sea. *Ergo*, this sea existed and was entered from the Pacific at its southern and northern extremities by the straits discovered by De Fuca and De Fonte respectively.

These geographers, who had gone so far as to attack Cook himself, charging him with 'hastily exploding' their theories and 'ranking him amongst the pursuers of peltry,' now took his chart and tried to fit it into the fantastic mosaic of their own speculative maps. In short, they pointed to Cook's River and exclaimed: 'Why, what is this but the strait of De Fonte? We told you so! And there you will find the sea.'

It was towards this 'river' that the *Discovery* was now sailing in the month of March. As she approached the coast the wind increased, the mercury fell to 25° , and ice appeared in the water. Rugged mountains, snow-covered, broke the skyline; barren and destitute of all life, they were seen from the ship's deck, but presently a small skin canoe appeared and came alongside, its occupants, a man and a girl, bowing in European fashion, 'which showed that they had been acquainted with some European nation.'

Now the wind began to blow hard from the north-east, bringing a driving sleet, and the *Discovery* was reduced to close-reefed topsails. Two days later the ship passed east of the island of St. Hermogenes. The thermometer now registered 45° . Wild geese were seen flying south. The ship crept towards the mouth of Cook's River, sounding continuously.

Up the river she crept, preceded by a boat taking soundings. The tides made navigation dangerous and difficult,

and to this menace was added the presence of shoals. Unable to get to the westward of one of these, Vancouver decided to attempt to cross it, though he could see water breaking upon it. Several times the ship struck, once with a violent and alarming shock, but she got across, and again into deep water. The weather had become clear and a landscape of stupendous mountains was visible, 'rugged and romantic forms, clothed in a perpetual sheet of ice and snow, present a prospect, though magnificently grand, yet dreary, cold and inhospitable. In the midst of these appeared a volcano, near the summit of which, from two distinct craters on its south-eastern side, were emitted large columns of whitish smoke.'

On the 19th the ebb tide was such that the best bower cable broke and the buoy sank. This was a disaster, for their stock of such stores was depleted. The wind rose again soon and with it came sleet and 'so severe a frost, that the spray became instantly frozen and fell on the decks like sleet, or small particles of snow, and the water that was brought up with the lead line, although in constant motion, cased it entirely with ice.'

As they crept up the river, the cold increased and the water filled with drift ice that struck the *Discovery's* bows and made her shudder. Nevertheless, Vancouver carried on with his survey work, getting his boats into the water whenever he saw the chance of getting through. But as they worked their way along, the tide became swifter and the ice more menacing.

'The quantity of ice and the rapidity of the tide, particularly on the flood, were greatly increased and were truly alarming. One large body of ice hooked the small bower cable, and with the violence of the tide broke it about 15 fathoms from the bows; and at the same time the cable of the best bower, by which alone the ship now rode, was constantly pressed with such immense weights, that we should have had no hope of its being able to sustain

them, had it not been a new sixteen-inch cable, nearly three inches in girth more than those of our establishment.'

They feared for the hull of the *Discovery*; they feared that the tide would tear them from their moorings; and they feared for the absent boat party. 'Thus circumstanced,' Vancouver relates, 'we had no alternative but to remain, and encounter, as long as we might be able, such a massive body of ice as I believe no commander of a Greenland ship, though such vessels are strengthened and protected for this especial purpose, would have attempted to have resisted.'

Such, very briefly, were the conditions under which the *Discovery* pushed her way up Cook's River and proved by a survey, complete and accurate and a monument to the indomitable courage of the men who made it, the non-existence of that mediterranean sea of the 'closet philosophers.' Vancouver proved the non-existence of this waterway as a river and delineated the extreme length of its shores, fixing its northern extent in latitude $61^{\circ} 29'$, longitude $152^{\circ} 17'$.

'Thus terminated,' he wrote, 'this very extensive opening on the coast of North-West America, to which, had the great and first discoverer of it, whose name it bears, dedicated one day more to its further examination, he would have spared the theoretical navigators, who have followed him in their closets, the task of ingeniously ascribing to this arm of the ocean a channel, through which a north-west passage, existing according to their doctrines, might ultimately be discovered.'

Shortly after the completion of this survey two guns were heard, and the next morning, the 7th of May, a brig was seen at anchor. It was the *Chatbam*.

Puget had been having a bad time with his crank little ship. She had sprung a leak, on her passage from the Sandwich Islands, that rose four feet, her upper works also had leaked badly and her sailing had been, as from the

first, a source of trouble to her commander. Even so, Puget had carried on according to instructions on reaching the coast and made the survey required of him.

PORT CONCLUSION

The two ships now turned southwards upon the final phase of their long ordeal. They surveyed the barren coast as they passed along among the glistening bergs. They encountered strange sights, on one occasion some four hundred Indians in skin canoes, on another, Indians who mumbled the words: "English, Portlock, Nootka." They met a party of Indians with a Russian, the latter proving unfriendly. They encountered terrific gales when the head of the *Discovery's* bowsprit was broken, when Vancouver says, 'a sudden flurry of wind, through a vein occupying scarcely a greater space in width than the length of the ship, vented its whole fury upon us with such immense violence that, although the topsails were down before it was at its height, we expected all the masts would have gone over the side; but fortunately we escaped with the loss of the foreyard only, and the splitting of most of our sails then set.'

At Chalmers Harbour, Vancouver had ordered Puget to make a thorough scrutiny of the coast as far as Port Mulgrave and there to await him¹; and there they duly met and sailed in company. So, slowly and laboriously, these two small ships, dilapidated through years of service, crept with their battered people down the long and tortuous coast towards Nootka.

Vancouver's health was already failing, for he tells of periods when, after long days of exposure in the open boats of the surveying parties, he had to retire to his cabin for days on end. To ill-health was also added a longing for home, a yearning made more intense by the chance

¹ p. 256.

encounter with the *Jackall*, whose commander, Mr. Brown, brought them startling news of affairs at home. So it was that Vancouver and his people learnt for the first time of the death of Louis XVI, of the French Revolution, of the declaration of war with England, and of the 'promulgation of French doctrines, to subvert our inestimable constitution.'

'The operation of unwelcome and unexpected tidings,' he wrote, 'breaking as it were from a cloud upon the minds of persons so little prepared to receive them, will be infinitely easier for the reader to conceive than for me to describe.'

After this meeting we may read much of Vancouver's nostalgia for home in tracing the tracks of his ships. Home is always in his mind, and he is thinking much of those whom he loves. The *Discovery* passed into Cross Sound and he named the promontory upon its north, Point Couverden, following, it will be noted, the spelling of the Dutch family and not that of the Dutch city. They steered round this headland into a narrow neck of water and he named it Lynn Canal, after his native town. There was a bay upon the east and he called it Berners Bay, after the family of his mother, Point Bridget in her honour, and Point St. Mary's, after St. Mary Wiggenhall, her birthplace, and Port Mary, after Mary his sister. His mind was full of Norfolk images, of remembered villages, of friends and local worthies. And he continued to celebrate his native county along this far Pacific coast: Port Snettisham, Port Houghton, Holkham Bay, Points Coke, Astley, Windham, Hobart, Walpole. And, with a final flourish, he named the land from hereabouts, north and west, New Norfolk, and in the name of the King took possession of it. New Norfolk has disappeared from the modern charts to become Alaska, but many of the names of Norfolk villages and worthies conferred by Vancouver remain upon them.

On the last day of July the *Discovery* was lying moored

head and stern in a narrow cove in $56^{\circ} 10'$ latitude, $135^{\circ} 37\frac{1}{2}'$ longitude, some eight miles from Cape Ommaney. Here, within easy reach of the ship's boats, were Cape Decision, the terminal point of the previous year's survey, and Point Gardner. The final expedition was now sent out under Whidbey and Johnstone. Vancouver directed them to take separate routes with the object of meeting at a prearranged point; while the crew of the *Discovery* set to work to repair the sails and riggings, caulking, cutting spars and timbers and brewing spruce beer.

Vancouver estimated that a week would suffice for the completion of the surveys by the two boats. But a fortnight passed in silence and the people on the *Discovery* began to talk about unfriendly Indians and the possibilities of an eleventh-hour catastrophe. 'This unpleasant state of suspense,' Vancouver observed, 'continually brought to our recollection the various accidents to which our expeditions in such small open boats had been liable . . . our minds were filled with apprehension, and every hour increased our solicitude for the return of our absent friends.'

The people of the *Discovery* waited anxiously until the boats had been a full nineteen days absent, when, 'in the midst of a deluge of rain, with the wind blowing very strong from the S.E., we had the indiscribable satisfaction of seeing the four boats enter the harbour together from the northward.'

Thus ended Vancouver's great survey of the North-West coast of America.

With his usual sense for place names, Vancouver called that harbour Port Conclusion.

At that moment there must have come upon the weary crews of both ships a sense of a triumph shared, and a feeling of brotherhood between officers and men. Even Vancouver, a man little given to emotion, felt the greatness of the occasion. He has told how, 'in order that the valuable

crews of both vessels on whom great hardships and manual labour had fallen, and who had uniformly encountered their difficulties with unremitting exertion, cheerfulness and obedience, might celebrate the day, that had thus terminated their labours in these regions ; they were served with such additional allowance of grog as was fully sufficient to answer every purpose of festivity on the occasion. This soon prompted a desire for mutual congratulations between the two vessels, expressed by three exulting cheers from each ; and it may be easily conceived that a greater degree of heartfelt satisfaction was scarcely ever more reciprocally experienced, or more cordially exchanged.'

A windy way of telling us that for once he allowed his men to get a little drunk, but he wrote after the fashion of his time, and in the manner expected of him.

Vancouver tells how, when the two boat parties met and thus finally settled for all time the question of a passage to the Atlantic from this coast, ' no small portion of mirth passed amongst the seamen, in consequence of our having sailed from old England on *the first of April*, for the purpose of discovering a north-west passage, by following up the discoveries of De Fuca, De Fonte, and a numerous train of hypothetic navigators.'

While the *Discovery* was proceeding south to Nootka, her task done, her commander, by a fitting coincidence, had been promoted on the 28th August to post rank.

DESPATCHES

On the 2nd of September the *Discovery* and her consort anchored once more in Friendly Cove, Nootka.

Here Vancouver was faced with a problem of a different kind. He had been hoping to see again his friend Senr. Quadra, had, indeed, been thinking about the adjustment of the differences between them as his ship came south, ' under the idea that a sufficient time had now elapsed, since

the departure of Lieutenant Broughton, for the arrival of the necessary instructions at that place.' At Nootka he found the *Princessa*, which had arrived the day before from St. Blas with the new governor of that port, Brigadier-General Don José Manuel Alava, colonel of the regiment of Puebla ; but no letters.

From Don Alava, Vancouver learned of the death of his friend Quadra. So, after all, the final negotiations for the cession of the place would have to be transacted with a stranger : meanwhile, Alava explained, instructions were expected daily, but that meanwhile nothing was known of the pleasure of the Governments of Great Britain and Spain.

There is no doubt whatever that Vancouver had brooded much upon the failure of Don Quadra and himself to find a basis for a settlement of the affair ; and now it seemed to him that the interminable business was never to be completed. The silence of the Government remained unbroken. Both Broughton and Mudge had long since been home with their reports, and time enough had elapsed for instructions to have reached him. Yet there was nothing, he learned, either at Nootka or at St. Blas. It was a blow.

Ill, suffering from protracted exposure and sustained mental strain, he began to worry. He asked himself again as he had asked himself a year ago, whether he had bungled the initial negotiations ; if he was now under a cloud at the Admiralty ? He considered more minutely his first instructions and saw in a flash that, with the best will in the world, they were impossible of fulfilment. They instructed him to take over Nootka ; and, as explicitly, to survey the great continental shore. In short he was required to be in two places at once. To take over Nootka in form, and then leave it vacant would have been a foolish proceeding, while if he took possession the survey could not be made.

It was an anti-climax to the triumph of Port Conclusion. He decided to wait. Indeed, such was the state of the ships

that he had no option in the matter. 'Our store of cordage,' he wrote, 'was completely exhausted, nor had we a fathom of rope but what was then in use; the whole of it was much worn and had been spliced in several places.' Moreover, the ships required caulking and planking and much else called for repair or renewal.

On the 29th of September a small ship belonging to Bristol came into Friendly Cove. She had returned there from England after carrying home two thousand otter skins. The arrival of this ship gave Vancouver the opportunity of entrusting to her master, Mr. Adamson, a business letter to James Sykes the Navy agent, whose son was serving under him as midshipman. After dealing with a number of bills of exchange, he wrote lamenting his position at Nootka, without news or instructions: 'Thus you see, my good friend, I am once more entrap'd in this infernal Ocean, and am totally at a loss to say when I shall be able to quit it.'¹

By the same messenger, Vancouver also transmitted a long despatch to Philip Stephens of the Admiralty. In this, after reporting the successful completion of his survey, he laments the absence of instructions and adds: 'I shall be considerably at a loss in what manner to treat, etc., with Snr. Alava who is authorised on receipt of such dispatches to negotiate this business.'²

By the 17th of October, the expected ship not having arrived, the *Discovery* and *Chatham* put out from Nootka for the last time, and arrived at Monterrey a fortnight later. They were delighted to learn that the unpleasant Senr. Arrillaga had been succeeded in this command by Senr. Arguello. But the only letter awaiting Vancouver was one from His Excellency Conde Revilla Gigedo, reporting the safe arrival of Broughton at Madrid. Vancouver was now feeling this unaccountable silence acutely, yet he still hoped that letters might arrive from St. Diego. This hope

¹ p. 257.

² p. 259.

he confided to Senr. Arguello, who immediately despatched an extraordinary courier the four hundred miles to make enquiries.

But Vancouver's troubles were not yet over. Despatches arrived from Mexico with Senr. Alava's instructions with regard to the cession of Nootka to Great Britain. And those despatches informed Alava that a new commission had been issued for the purpose by the Court of London, and that Vancouver would be no party to the formal ceding.

This was a severe blow to Vancouver's pride and undoubtedly cast him down. And he did not forget it, for when he returned to England he made it his business to ascertain the facts and put it on record that no such slur had been cast upon him, but that the fresh instructions had been addressed in the first instance to himself.

Vancouver saw the great value of Nootka as a British base; but the Admiralty was more concerned with the overt act of dispossessing Spain as a vindication of national honour. This suggestion is supported by the following unsigned and undated memorandum, probably by Philip Stephens, since the handwriting, which is almost illegible, resembles his.

'My idea as to Nootka is as follows: I think Capt. Vancouver was very naturally induced from the Nature of his instructions, and a Recollection of the original Ground of quarrel to hesitate and ultimately to decline closing the transaction on the terms suggested by the Spanish Commandant. I regret however that it was not closed on those terms, for we would have been in possession and under those circumstances would have been on a better footing for negotiating at home, than when the Spaniards are in possession, and when they may feel a point of honour not to depart from the ground assumed(?) by their Commandant. All that we really are anxious about in this particular part of the Business is the safety for our National honour which

renders a *Restitution* necessary. the *Extent* of that Restitution is not of much moment, and in truth the only evidence to which either Party can resort, will justify the Claim on either side. The true state of the fact appears to be that Mears never was in possession of more than the Hut where the tent now stands in the Drawing made by Mr. Humphrys, and therefore in a *narrow* and *literal* sense *Restitution* is complied with by restoring that spot. But we are justified in maintaining that the transaction cannot admit of so narrow a Construction, the Place being so small as not to admit of a divided Property. I think this last circumstance may afford a good way of terminating the dispute, for instead of insisting *solely* upon our Right let us mix with it in our Statement the obvious Inconvenience of a Division, and by negociating upon it in that manner, I daresay Lord St Helens will find no great difficulty in persuading the Spanish Minister to make the Concession absolute which the Spanish Commandant at Nootka did not think himself at liberty to do. The Use of the Harbour must of course remain common to both Parties.'

In view of this turn of affairs, Vancouver decided to make for home without further delay. On the 2nd of December the two battered ships quitted Monterrey and began their long voyage back to England.

CHAPTER XV

Homeward Bound

1794-1795

SCURVY

WITH the exception of the single outbreak that occurred on the voyage from Nootka to New Albion, the expedition, thanks to the application of the dietetic principles first practised by Cook, had been free of scurvy. In December, a month after the two ships had sailed from Monterrey, Vancouver speaks of himself as the only sick man aboard, and we know from his accounts of his condition at Monterrey that there he was so debilitated that he was not able even to visit the Presidio on several occasions. But by March, Mr. Menzies reported a number of cases of scurvy, and the commander, himself ill, was in the position of having to work a dilapidated ship with a scorbutic crew.

Next, the mainmast sprang, and on examination was found to be so rotten that the mizentopmast had to be substituted for it. Meanwhile, Mr. Menzies reported the spread of the scurvy and disheartening results from the anti-scorbutic treatment which Vancouver had ordered. Searching for the explanation of this outbreak, which greatly puzzled him, since he had throughout the voyage adopted the scientific dietetic methods discovered and first used by his former commander, Captain Cook, Vancouver was confronted on the quarter-deck by the ship's cook. The man came with a hang-dog air to confess that he, and he alone, was responsible for the misery of the ship's people, since he had disobeyed explicit orders in serving the men with the prohibited, scurvy-producing skimmings from the boiled salt meat.

A clear case for the lash, one would have thought, yet Vancouver forgives the man because of his free confession.

Now the autocrat called his junior officers into conference. The condition of the crew and the state of the mainmast made it imperative to limp into the nearest port. But that port was Valparaiso, a Spanish port upon a coast forbidden to them by the strict injunctions of the Admiralty.

When Mr. Menzies showed signs of hesitation to accept the surgeon's duties in Mr. Cranstoun's place, Vancouver had demanded his refusal in writing. Now the same vein of cautiousness is revealed. He was going to go contrary to strict orders. Very well, he would assure the backing of every officer on his ship against possible future criticism.

It might be advanced that he acted thus because he was failing. Physically he was. When the *Discovery* came off Cocos Island on the homeward voyage, he was so weak that he could not enter the ship's boat. He called at the Cocos and Galapagos Islands for water, but also because he would not sail a straight course for Cape Horn and home if there was any chance of adding something to his charts by checking the charts of previous navigators. Only his body was failing ; his will retained its inflexibility.

It is an astonishing thing to find that at this time, in ill-health, with a sick crew, rotten mainmast and a ship crying aloud for the dockyard, Vancouver was preoccupied still with the pursuit of geographic discovery. Yet so it was, as his records attest. They pass Juan Fernandez¹ and he checks its position, noting the difference between Arnold's and Kendall's chronometers. There is no slackening after four long years.

¹ p. 207.

VALPARAISO

Vancouver was delighted to find a brother of the friendly Alava in command of the Spanish port. But he was mortified to learn that the port could not provide the *Discovery* with her much needed new spar ; so that it was necessary to turn the mast end for end in order that the most defective parts would come below decks.

After the troubles that had pursued the two ships down the coast, their experiences in Chili must have seemed to the weather-beaten men as fantastic as an Oriental tale. Vancouver was provided with a large house where he could sleep ashore and rest himself. Men, material and provisions were supplied to him, and a pressing invitation to visit the Captain-General of Chili at the capital, St. Jago, came, with horses to take them the ninety miles between the port and the capital.

Vancouver tells how after an exhausting ride, they were met outside the city of St. Jago by an officer with fresh mounts, high-bred, caparisoned beasts, upon which they were to make a public entry into the capital. He tells how he and his officers—Puget, Johnstone, Baker, Swaine and Menzies, all in rotten uniforms—protested that they would prefer a more private entry, at which their military escort, misunderstanding them, then pressed upon them whips and spurs.

He tells how they were met by the citizens, and, at the palace, by the turning out of the guard. How His Excellency Dom Ambrosio Higgins de Valenar greeted them, to their utter amazement, in a rich Irish brogue,¹ and housed them magnificently in rich large apartments that lacked for nothing but cleanliness ; how he provided them with men servants, to whom they applied, sailorlike, for brooms with which to remove the filth.

He describes how, upon the next Sunday morning, they

¹ p. 261.

attended the levee to be formally presented, and there found themselves in their scarecrow uniforms, among a crowd of magnificently uniformed people. And we are told how each person present was made aware by His Excellency of the great hardships these strange-looking English seamen had suffered.

We learn, too, from Menzies how, when they were feasted, he noticed a strange kind of nut upon the table and put some in his pocket. These he planted in his frame where they thrived and became young trees before England was reached. One of these trees, the *Araucaria imbricata*, or Monkey-puzzle tree, survived at Kew until 1892.

Nothing that was new knowledge ever came amiss to Vancouver, and in Chili, as might be expected, he struck a rich vein. He possessed a shrewd eye, whether the subject under observation were the dress of the Spanish women or their inability to read and write, the yields—he gives the actual figures—of the silver and gold mines, the dam erected by Dom Ambrosio Higgins—he cites the inscription thereon—the system of social intercourse with the Indians, of the government in vogue, the endowments of the Church and its control, about which last he is interested enough to procure translations from the Spanish of the Papal Bulls governing them. In short, like Captain Cuttle, he noticed and noted everything.

And all this by a man far advanced in disease and pre-occupied with the problem of nursing home a ship in a parlous state of disrepair and dilapidation. When they returned to Valparaiso, Vancouver sent home a long despatch.¹ The ships were now ready.

ST. HELENA

With renewed supplies of fresh food, a patched-up ship, and a crew on the mend, Vancouver sailed from Valparaiso,

¹ p. 262.

appointing St. Helena as the place of rendezvous for the *Chatbam*.¹

Before them lay the Horn and the worst months, and beyond, the long Atlantic voyage. With worn-out sails, a split foretopmast staysail, with rotted bower cable, foretopsail and maintopsail, they steered south, manned by a crew weakened by scurvy, commanded by a slowly dying captain. During their visit to Cocos Island and the Galapagos for water, at the first island, Johnstone and Menzies found a note in a bottle left there in 1793 by Colnett in the *Rattler*, stating that he had left goats on the island. Of these, however, they could find no trace.

Such were the circumstances of the *Discovery* when she rounded Cape Horn and steered for St. Helena.

It has been said that Vancouver had no heart, and in evidence it is alleged that when a seaman fell overboard he made no effort to rescue him. That tragedy happened in the South Atlantic on a day when the wind blew a gale so hard that the sails of the *Discovery* frequently split. About half-past five, Richard Jones, a seaman, fell overboard from the main chains. A grating was thrown to him and the ship was immediately hove to, but the man, like most sailors, was unable to swim, and sank immediately. In his log an entry of 21st June, giving these facts, adds: 'Threw a grating to his assistance, finding it impracticable to send a boat to his assistance, bore up again and made sail.' Upon such evidence this charge against Vancouver has been based. In that ship, and in that place, and under those conditions, it is difficult to see how any commander could have done more.

Shortly before the *Discovery* sighted St. Helena, trouble broke out between Vancouver and Menzies. It was obviously one of those outbursts to which men are subject after long periods of physical hardship and mental strain. Vancouver, no doubt, never had any particular interest in

¹ p. 267.

the botanical work in any case, and therefore did not appreciate what the loss of his plants meant to Menzies. However that may be, Vancouver declined to punish the man detailed to take care of Menzies' botanical frame, and both men completely lost their tempers.

They have both given their versions of the quarrel that culminated in a violent altercation between them on the quarter-deck, and as the affair did not come before a court-martial, the reader is free to form his own judgment from the following evidence of the two principals themselves.

Vancouver's account is addressed to the Admiralty with an application for a court-martial on Menzies. Menzies' is addressed to his friend and patron, Sir Joseph Banks, to whom there is some ground for believing he had been sending despatches behind Vancouver's back. In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks directly Vancouver had left the ship for Limerick on the 14th September, 1795, Menzies wrote :

' SIR JOSEPH,—I wrote you a few lines late last night just as the boat was going off to Limerick with Captain Vancouver, merely acquainting you of our arrival. I now beg leave to inform you that I am under an arrest since the 28th of July last for insolence and contempt as it is termed ; and as Captain Vancouver will no doubt report me as such, on his arrival at the Admiralty, I trust you will have the goodness to make it known to their Lordships in my vindication, that the alleged complaint for which I have been put under arrest by Captain Vancouver, has wholly arisen from his own proceedings, in depriving me of that servant which I was particularly allowed by Government to aid and assist me in the different pursuits I was instructed to fulfil in the voyage, particularly for taking care and looking after those live plants I was directed to bring home for His Majesty's Royal Gardens ; and that too at the most critical period of the voyage for the safety and preservation

of those new and rare plants I had industriously collected in distant regions of the world, and carefully preserved by a constant and anxious attendance throughout the vigorous extremes of different Climates, but which in consequence of this proceeding has suffered so materially that I can now only show the dead stumps of many that were alive and in a flourishing state when we crossed the Equator for the last time ; and when I flattered myself with the most pleasing expectations of being able to make considerable and valuable additions to His Majesty's extensive collection, had Captain Vancouver's adverse conduct not proved so inimical to my endeavours in executing this part of my instructions by putting my servant in a watch in common with the Ship's Company on leaving St. Helena. However, while he executed my order respecting the Garden, I could have no objection to his giving every assistance in working the ship, nor had I any during the whole Voyage, when his particular duty did not otherwise require his attendance ; and I believe it will be allowed by the Officers that he did more Ship's duty before he was watched, than any other *Idler* on board.

‘ But on the 28th of July last, I found him guilty of a very notorious neglect in disobedience of my particular orders by not covering the Garden till a very heavy and sudden deluge of rain crushed down the tender shoots of many of the plants that never afterwards recovered it. As this fatal neglect merited some chastisement to prevent a repetition of it, I made a complaint of him to Captain Vancouver for that purpose ; and when I found that he discharged him still to his duty in a watch without inflicting any punishment or disgrace, or giving the least satisfactory redress to my grievance, merely because he had obeyed some other person's orders at the time in preference to mine. It was then I found that I was left destitute of any aid or assistance to fulfil my agreement, and felt all the pangs of disappointed expectations with respect to my tender and delicate charge

in so critical a situation. I, however, coolly & without either *insolence* or *contempt*, complained to Captain Vancouver of being unjustly used in this proceeding. He immediately flew in a rage, and his passionate behaviour and abusive language on the occasion prevented any further explanation, and I was put under arrest because I would not retract my expression while my grievance still remained unredressed. For surely thus depriving me of the aid of my servant so peculiarly necessary at this time to look after these plants, by placing him in a situation where he was so liable every moment to disobey my orders, by being as it were obliged to obey others, and make that afterwards an excuse to screen him from any disgrace or punishment for so glaring a neglect of his particular duty, was an arbitrary proceeding which I hope their Lordships', on a mature consideration of its fatal consequence, will not be inclined to view in a very favourable light. If they do—I alone must suffer the effects of their displeasure. However, while I am confident in my own mind that I have done nothing to forfeit your friendship and good offices, but on the contrary in this as well as on every other occasion exerted my utmost endeavours to fulfil the object of my Mission to the best of my abilities, I rest satisfied, and shall cheerfully submit to whatever mode their Lordships & you may think proper to settle this business.

'Though Captain Vancouver made a formal demand of my Journals etc. before he left the Ship, I did not think myself authorised to deliver them in my present situation, particularly till I should hear from you or the Secretary of State for the Home department, when I shall be ready to deliver up every thing I have written, drawn or collected, during the whole Voyage agreeable to the tenor of my Instructions.'

Vancouver's account is addressed to Evan Nepean of the Admiralty, from the *Shannon*, 13th September 1751.

'SIR,—I am to request you will do me the honor of representing to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I am excessively sorry at being driven to the necessity of soliciting that a Court-Martial may be held on Mr. Archibald Menzies, Surgeon of His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* under my command, and officiating also in the capacity of Botanist, for what I consider as a breach of part of the 19th and 22nd articles of war, at sea, on the 28th of July 1795; having, on that day, behaved to me on the quarter-deck, with great contempt and disrespect, in consequence of my having refused to punish, at his request, a person who had throughout the voyage been considered as his servant. The Insolent and unbecoming behavior of Mr. Menzies on that occasion towards me, and his positive refusal to retract the harsh and improper expressions he made use of, compels me to prefer this charge, and to repeat my request that their Lordships will be pleased, in consequence thereof, to order a Court-Martial.

'I have the honor to be,

'Sir,

'Your most obedient humble Servt.,

'GEO. VANCOUVER.'

(Note: '21 Sept. own rec. orders for trying him—Order Cancelled.')

At the end of July the coast of St. Helena was seen. From this port the people of both ships would for the first time in five years be able to communicate with their friends (there was but one married man on the strength of the two ships), and Vancouver therefore called for the delivery up of all logs, journals, charts and drawings, according to the regulations, at the same time enjoining the crew to keep secret all facts concerning their voyage until released by official permission.

There was one man aboard who we know, however, had no intention of delivering up his journal: that man

was Mr. Archibald Menzies. He met the demand with a flat refusal.

As they approached the Bay of St. Helena, they saw the *Chatham* astern, and, with mortification, ahead a large fleet of ships—probably East Indiamen—standing out; ‘under the protection of which,’ Vancouver observes, ‘I should have been happy to have performed the remainder of our voyage; for we were in no situation to contend with the enemy’s ships of equal force, nor to have escaped from those of superior weight of metal.’

As a matter of fact, though Vancouver was unaware of it then, the National Assembly of France had granted a free passage to his ships.

Vancouver was informed by Governor Brook that a state of war existed between Great Britain and the United States of Holland, and that an expedition was proceeding to the Cape. It was a long time since he had seen active service, when, stepping out of the governor’s residence, Vancouver saw a Dutch East Indiaman entering the bay. He acted swiftly, sent an officer and men aboard her—she was his prize. This prize later became the subject of a claim by Vancouver, as the following protest to Evan Nepean of the Admiralty, dated 9th of February, 1797, shows:

‘*Vancouver,*

‘142 New Bond Street, *Feb. 9th*, 1797.

‘*To Evan Nepean.*

‘SIR,—I most humbly request that you will do me the honour of stating to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that being under their Lordships particular orders on my return towards England, I arrived at St. Helena on the 2nd of July 1795, in His Majesty’s Sloop *Discovery* accompanied by the *Chatham* Armed Tender; where on my landing I was informed by Governor Brook that it was His Majesty’s commands that all Vessels

containing Dutch property should be seized detained and sent to England untill His Majesty's farther pleasure should be known ; and whilst the information was communicating the signal was made for an approaching enemys ship, in consequence of which I made the necessary arrangements for defence and capture, and on her arrival in the roadstead she was seized and taken possession of by a detachment of Officers and people under my command, and proved to be the Dutch East India Ship *Macassar*, which being captured prior to the declaration of hostilities was condemned to the Crown, but through the gracious bounty of His Majesty I understand the captors are in a certain degree to be rewarded and in consequence of this very benevolent disposition of His Majesty ; I was this day informed that Lord Keith has laid in a claim to share as Commander-in-Chief in such part as His Majesty's gracious bounty may award to the merits of the *Discovery* and *Chatham* in making such capture although at the time the *Macassar* was seized so far from being under the orders of Sir. Geo. K. Elphinston, now Lord Keith, or any other Commanding or Superior Officer that I had not untill after the Capture of the said ship sufficient leisure to acquire such information respecting who were the different commanding officers and situation of affairs in Europe, nor did I at any subsequent period receive any orders instructions or information from Lord Keith, excepting such as were directed to Captain Essington which I endeavoured so far as in my power lay for the good of His Majesty's service to put into execution, in the event of Captn. Essington's absence.

‘ I therefore crave the Indulgence that their Lordships will communicate to me for the information of the Lords of the Treasury ; whether in their opinion I can be considered as under the order of Lord Keith, and his Lordship there by intitled to any interest in the Capture of the Said Ship *Macassar*.

‘ In this request I trust I am not soliciting an improper

favour or that their Lordships will be pleased to make such reply as in their wisdom may appear expedient on the occasion ; before Tuesday next on which day the Lords of the Treasury are to take this matter into consideration.

‘ I have the honour to be with the greatest respect,

‘ Sir

‘ Your most obedient humble

‘ Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.’

Minute : 15 May (‘ acquaint him that their Lordships have acquainted the Treasury with the circumstances under which he acted.’)

A week later the little *Chatbam* was on her way to Brazil with despatches for General Clarke at St. Salvadore, who was waiting with his army instructions from Sir George Elphinstone (Lord Keith) then at St. Helena aboard the *Arniston*.

Vancouver transferred his four pieces of ordnance to the *Arniston* and set his men to help embark the troops on board her. The *Discovery*, which had sprung a leak, was put into repair ; Johnstone was placed in charge of the Dutch prize and the last stage of the long voyage began.

At Cape Verde Island the *Discovery* came up with a convoy of Dutch prizes under the command of Captain Essington. When one of these ships went on fire, one of the *Discovery*’s cutters went to her. On returning, she was stove in against the ship’s side. Vancouver witnessed the affair, and he tells how at that moment when this boat (an inanimate thing, after all) was smashed, he remembered how this was the boat in which he had travelled so many weary miles ‘ and repeatedly escaped from danger ; to be always brought safely home,’ and he tells us that he turned away to hide his tears.

About five o’clock on Saturday, the 12th of September, the man on the *Discovery*’s masthead reported land. It was

the western coast of Ireland. The next day they anchored in the Shannon, after an absence of four years, eight months and twenty-nine days.

Vancouver resigned his command to Baker, and taking his leave of officers and men with deep emotion, set out for London, when, he tells us, he offered up 'unfeigned thanks to the Great Disposer of all human events, for the protection which thus, in His unbounded wisdom and goodness, He has been pleased on all occasions to vouchsafe to us, and which had now happily restored us to our country, our families and our friends.'

CHAPTER XVI

Work and Worry

1795-1797

APOLOGIES AND CHARGES

A FEW days after his arrival in London, and before the *Discovery* had reached the Thames from the Shannon, Vancouver applied to the Admiralty for a court-martial of Mr. Archibald Menzies for breach of 19th and 22nd Articles of War at sea on the 28th of July of that year.

Menzies learned of this application when the *Discovery* arrived in the Thames on the 22nd of October, and immediately sought out Vancouver and tendered a full apology. Vancouver expected it, and at once withdrew his application for a court-martial. Although in this manner an undignified episode was formally closed, there is no reason for the supposition that Vancouver and Menzies parted on cordial terms.

Vancouver, like all commanders of his day, was jealous of his powers and resented any infringement of, or interference with, his authority. Before the expedition sailed, Banks had drawn up, at the request of the Admiralty, a set of instructions for Menzies, and the perusal of that document leaves upon the reader the impression that it was drafted, not so much to define Menzies' position in the ship's company, as to give him necessary guarantees of immunity from arbitrary interference. For it imposes upon Vancouver positive duties towards his learned shipmate. Why did Banks take this course? Well, we can only conjecture. He had known Vancouver as a midshipman, maybe, and had formed an adverse opinion of him then; he obviously believed he had good grounds for regarding Vancouver as

a man with whom it was necessary to treat cautiously. There is the warning letter of Banks to Menzies, sent before the start of the expedition, and from it we may infer that Banks anticipated a clash between the two men.¹

Menzies, from what we know of him, was a gentle sort of man, but his resistance to this order of his commander reveals that unexpected firmness sometimes found in such characters ; he stood his ground and thus inevitably came into sharp conflict with a man intolerant of opposition.

Was Banks a fair or impartial judge of Vancouver's character ? He considered young Pitt an ill-used midshipman and charged Vancouver with extreme harshness towards him. It is true that Vancouver did have Pitt flogged on three occasions ; true, too, that he discharged him ashore at Hawaii. But since among all those who served under him, Pitt alone appears to have borne any grudge against Vancouver, it may reasonably be inferred that Pitt was more offender than offended against ; for if Vancouver was the first commander to discharge him ignominiously he was not to be the last.

Although he had turned over the *Discovery* to Baker, Vancouver had still much official business to transact before he could consider himself free to recruit his failing health. Seven of his men had been impressed in the *Shannon* and he had to make his report upon the circumstances ; he had to transmit to the Admiralty all logs, journals, charts and sketches made by his officers and men ; he had to transmit copies of all documents relating to promotions during his voyage, and to record his recommendations. There was a pending court-martial on Phillips, the carpenter, put under arrest at Nootka, and now waiting trial at the Nore ; Vancouver had to detail his witnesses, and with them attend.² There were applications to make for expenses, for extra spirits allowed his people during the voyage, for slop clothing supplied from the

¹ p. 268.

² p. 273.



DISCOVERY AS A CONVICT SHIP AT DEPTFORD

From an engraving dated 1828, and wrongly described by the artist as Cook's ship. The superstructure

Discovery's stores to the seamen settled at Hawaii, and much else.¹

These several affairs being disposed of, Vancouver left London for Bristol Hot Baths, to rest and recuperate. But he was not to be left long in peace, and two months later he was called upon to defend himself from charges made against him through the Spanish Embassy.

To one familiar with Vancouver's own record of his transactions at the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast, these allegations are completely unaccountable. He left Monterrey singing the high praises of the governor and of the Viceroy of Mexico ; and now this latter dignitary was actually accusing Vancouver of bilking him of monies due for the maintenance of deserters.

It was an outrageous accusation and one hotly resented by Vancouver, a man of punctilious habits in money matters and all business transactions. Happily he was able to make a complete answer to these charges and to satisfy the Admiralty that he had acted honourably throughout.* But what lay behind this attack we can only surmise.

PETERSHAM

Vancouver was requested by the Admiralty to prepare for publication a full account of the great voyage, and with his instructions came the journals, charts and other material, surrendered by him on his return. The weary man undertook the task, though he must have well known that he was in no fit state to attempt it. He merely asked for such financial help as had been granted to Cook under like circumstances, and set to work.²

Returning from Bristol Hot Baths he cast about for some retreat where he could set about his work in peace and quiet. John, now living in Southwark, London, grieved at the change wrought in his young brother by five years

¹ p. 274.

² p. 278.

³ p. 280.

of exposure and hardship, offered to act as amanuensis. Richmond was decided upon, and there Vancouver took up his permanent residence.

The late Mr. Oxley, sometime Vicar of Petersham Parish Church, in the Borough of Richmond, related how, from the daughter of the landlady of the Star and Garter Hotel, he learned that Vancouver had spent only a fortnight in that parish, coming to the famous hostelry in April 1798. According to this story, Vancouver, on looking out over the Thames Valley from the Brewery room of the Star and Garter, exclaimed: 'In all my travels, I never *clept* eyes on a more beautiful spot than this. Here would I live and here would I die.'

This charming anecdote has enjoyed a long life, and that Vancouver uttered such sentiments is possible, for he had his expansive moments. That they were spoken in April of the year 1798, two weeks before his death, may well be doubted, since at that time he had been already a year resident in Petersham and must therefore have been very familiar with that famous view.

That Petersham was Vancouver's permanent residence after his return is evidenced by his correspondence, most of which is addressed from there.¹ After all, a man grievously ill, with a gigantic task on hand, working surrounded by maps, charts, sketches, diaries, journals and astronomical data, would be unlikely to move from lodging to lodging. A Petersham correspondent, writing in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1841, said Vancouver occupied a cottage there for many years preparing for the press his journal.

Of this phase of his life there is no local record, save the apocryphal story referred to, which, alas, as historical must be rejected. That he worked steadily and hard is evidenced by what he accomplished. That his health was rapidly failing is also certain, since, at the end of a year's work, we find his brother called upon to write even his ordinary

¹ p. 281.

correspondence for him. Thus, in a letter to the Navy agent, James Sykes, of the 5th of March, 1797, there is this post-script : ' As writing is exceedingly pernicious to my present indisposition, my brother who is here has been good enough to write this letter for me.'

This letter, incidently, is of interest for another reason : it discloses the fact that some serious allegation was then being made against Vancouver, to which he evidently considered that he had a complete answer, though of what nature this charge was it is impossible to guess in the absence of further material.¹ That it was a charge arising out of some circumstance of the voyage seems probable, for Vancouver expressed indignation not only for himself, but for his officers and men.

CAMELFORD

Lord Camelford neither forgave nor forgot the brand of discipline handed out to him by Vancouver when, as the Honourable Wm. Pitt, he served upon the *Discovery* as midshipman. After Vancouver put him ashore at Hawaii he had contrived to reach Malacca, where he joined the *Resistance*, had trouble with the commander, and ultimately reached England in the *Union*, in October 1796.

There can be little doubt that all this time Camelford had been nursing his grievance, and was merely waiting his opportunity to settle accounts with Vancouver. Within a week of landing he had issued a challenge.

Ill, and busy about his book, Vancouver took the eminently proper course for one of his seniority. He first of all informed his lordship that if he had experienced any unpleasantness aboard the *Discovery* he had brought it upon himself by his own behaviour, and that, moreover, what had been done to him was necessary for the preservation of discipline. He then offered to meet Camelford and give

¹ p. 284.

him satisfaction, provided any flag officer to whom the whole affair should be submitted deemed him liable by the laws of honour to be called upon. In such case he promised his challenger he would very cheerfully give him satisfaction.

This correct, cold-blooded manner of dealing with the dispute did not appeal to Camelford, who declined the condition. And there the matter rested for rather more than two months. In January of 1798, Vancouver came to London attended by his faithful brother, no doubt to consult with his publisher, Stockdale, whose offices were in Piccadilly. Turning from that thoroughfare into Bond Street, the brothers Vancouver encountered Camelford, who, without warning, came at his former commanding officer brandishing his cane. John Vancouver, getting between them, engaged the enraged nobleman, and passers-by eventually restrained him from further violence.

But Camelford, thwarted twice, had no intention of relinquishing the feud. His ungovernable temper seems to have been such that it transformed a man of an erratic, undisciplined, but impulsively generous nature into a cheap bravo. Just how Camelford continued to persecute Vancouver, we do not know, but his methods must have been peculiarly offensive and menacing. He maintained a lodging in Bond Street, but also had a house at Petersham, and it is therefore not difficult to imagine the sort of encounters that took place on the streets there.

Petersham Lodge, the Camelford's place, has been demolished, but the foundations are discernible in the turf in Richmond Park, near the present Bute House estate.

Ultimately Vancouver took a very drastic course: he applied to the Lord Chancellor for protection. Since the more usual course would have been an application to a magistrate, the informal appeal of Vancouver to the head of the Judiciary suggests a possible friendship between them, a surmise supported to some extent by the fact that Loughborough's Channel appears on Vancouver's chart of Puget

Sound. Lord Loughborough sent for Camelford, requesting him to call at his private house in Bedford Square, London. Camelford turned up in a towering rage, and was ushered into the Lord Chancellor's library, where Lord Loughborough was alone. Camelford's behaviour was so alarming that Lady Loughborough became anxious for the safety of her husband, and implored a friend of the family to post himself outside the study door, and enter without ceremony if necessary, and tackle the hostile visitor. Lord Loughborough, however, handled his man well. Camelford was calmed down, and agreed to be bound over in a substantial sum to keep the peace, Lord Grenville, his kinsman, becoming his surety.

Thus ended the relations of Vancouver and his former midshipman that had begun so propitiously at Falmouth in March 1791, when Vancouver, arriving at that port, wrote : ' I found my Lord Camelford here with his family all very well. They had been waiting a few days with some anxiety for the arrival of the Ship. I have as yet in course been able to see but little of my young Shipmate ; however, cannot avoid observing that I was extremely pleased with his appearance and deportment.'

Had Camelford realised that he was pursuing and persecuting a dying man it is unlikely that he would have persisted in his attacks. Although the Camelford affair is unimportant in the career of Vancouver, his story has more than a minor interest, for Vancouver's character has suffered because of his treatment of Camelford. Therefore the bare facts of Camelford's career, and a few as to his character, may be in place here.

Thomas Pitt, second Baron Camelford, was born at Boconnoc in Cornwall, on the 19th of February, 1775. He spent most of his boyhood in Switzerland, a country he greatly loved. He is said to have been educated at Charterhouse, but the school records show that he actually spent only ten days there, making, likely enough, one of those

sudden exits that punctuated and in the end terminated his short life.

He entered the Navy in 1789 and quickly revealed himself as a youth of courage. When serving on the *Guardian* he distinguished himself when she struck an ice-field near the Cape and was deserted by most of her crew. It was Camelford who brought her into Table Bay. In 1798 he was court-martialled on a charge of murdering a brother officer, and, considering the evidence against him, was somewhat surprisingly acquitted. His exit from the Navy was characteristic—he was struck off the list of commanders at his own request, being piqued at being passed over for the command of the *Charon*. Finally he was killed in a duel with Captain Best, his intimate friend, having been told by his mistress, Mrs. Simmonds, a pretty woman of twenty, whom he maintained in a lavish style, that Best had cast a slur on him. Best denied on his honour that he had spoken the words complained of, but Camelford forced the issue.

In London, Camelford was a notorious figure on account of his extravagance, violence and eccentricity. On one occasion he was fined £500 for throwing a man down the stairs of a theatre. And on the declaration of peace he incensed a London mob by refusing to light his house, and coming out of it, furiously assaulted those who had come to assault him.

Perhaps we may accept as a rough but fairly shrewd estimate of Camelford the analysis of his character made by Mr. Carlyle, the surgeon under whose care he died after the duel, as reported by Farington in the famous *Diary*: 'He said He was a man of superior abilities but of singular character. That his prevailing feeling was ambition—That He had declared to him [Carlyle] that He had no animal courage and laboured by any means to get the better of a weakness of nerves in this respect, by attending Cock fighting, pugilism, etc., etc. That in Him Courage was a struggle of sentiment against Constitution—He was industrious to

acquire knowledge of many things, He was a good Chemist, a most excellent geographer, a good seaman, could do the business of a turner, and work in fineering as a Cabinet Maker, that He was very desirous of being reckoned much upon as a Man independent of his title and wished His friends to lay that aside, and address Him familiarly. But he desired to be at the head notwithstanding, to have the best Horses, in points of dress, and other thing to be first. When in a passion it was a kind of phrenzy; it disordered Him in so great a degree, but otherwise his mind was gentle and easy. His generosity was great and His Charity very extensive.'

Such a man might well win friends, and it is not, therefore, surprising to find that during the five years Camelford served on the *Discovery* he formed intimacies of an enduring sort. When he lay dying from the effects of the pistol wound, he reminded Barrie, his former comrade on the *Discovery's* quarter-deck, who had hastened to his side, that he had broken his promise to him that he would not fight Best. Barrie had been striving to dissuade Camelford from his mad purpose for weeks, and but for the mischance that after the duel was arranged, and Camelford wished to withdraw, Barrie could not be found to act as intermediary, he might have succeeded. As it was, when Camelford sent messengers to find Barrie, he could not be found, for he had gone from the play house, not to his lodgings where the messengers sought him, but to some other place. When Camelford, as he lay dying, asked Barrie how it was with him, Barrie answered, "Tom, you must die," which he heard with great fortitude.

Camelford directed that Barrie's debts, amounting to nine thousand pounds, should be paid, settled two hundred a year upon him, and begged him 'to alter his manner of living, and quit London.'

An interesting sidelight is thrown on Barrie's character in connection with this request. Lord Grenville released

Barrie from the condition attached to the bequest, but Barrie declined to accept a gift without complying with the conditions of it.

Camelford was, in colloquial phrase, an impossible person, unbalanced and perhaps a little mad, but he was not a blackguard, though he nearly fathered that character upon Vancouver, a man vastly his superior in character, ability and achievement.

From the *Farington Diary* we learn that Camelford was little regretted ; that it was considered dangerous to get in company with him ; that he had a slangy manner.

Camelford desired to be buried on an island on the Lake of Geneva, ' that there Nature might smile upon his Bones after the world had forgotten him.' His body was accordingly embalmed and placed in the Church of St. Anne, Soho, until the end of the war made its transportation possible. The basket in which the body had been placed mysteriously disappeared and has never been heard of since.

CHAPTER XVII

The Last Year

1798

‘THE VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY’

IT is a fact fairly well known that many of the so-called *Voyages of Discovery* that were written in the latter part of the eighteenth century were concocted by hack writers from material supplied by the adventurers, and that in the process their tales underwent a metamorphosis in which truth not uncommonly suffered. And even the authentic accounts published under the signatures of distinguished navigators were often ‘dressed’ for them by professional writers.

There was a big demand for all stories of sea adventure and exploration that stimulated the production of spurious, unauthorised and doctored accounts, chiefly instigated by the large bribes of the publisher-booksellers anxious to be first in the field with what is now termed a ‘scoop.’ For these reasons the Admiralty took steps to prevent the unauthorised publication of all unofficial logs, journals and so on, and collected all such material at the end of the voyage, as we have seen. But even so, members of ships’ companies often attempted and sometimes succeeded in smuggling out and selling to the booksellers such rough records as they had to offer.

When Captain Cook returned from his second voyage there was a great scramble among the booksellers, and several of his ship’s company became involved in charges of surreptitious transactions with booksellers for the publication of their logs and journals. For example,

Anderson, the gunner, was accused of the authorship of an unauthorised story purporting to be by Cook himself. His mate, the coxswain, and the boatswain's mate also offered their journals, and they were only declined by the booksellers because they could make nothing of their crude handwriting. Another man with an eye to future profit kept a forbidden journal by interlining the pages of his Bible.

Among Vancouver's crew, Pigot, McKenzie, Scott, Stewart, Mudge, Browne, Roberts, Dobson, Orchard and Puget kept logs, but apparently wholesome fear of their commander operated to prevent illicit transactions with booksellers.

The original manuscript of Vancouver's lengthy record of his five adventurous and fruitful years of exploration has been lost, a fact which lends interest to the facsimile page reproduced here. In the British Museum it was found among the unindexed documents, but it may be easily identified by comparison with the printed text.

This fragment is of interest because it shows not only that Vancouver was actually the author of the work signed by him, but also how he wrote, and how he dealt with the revision of his manuscript before such time as weakness involved his brother in that task.

Unfortunately, after the publication of the first edition of his *Voyage of Discovery* with the atlas, the copper plates of the charts were all stolen. This edition appeared in 1799; the second edition, in six volumes, in 1801; a French translation a year later.

When it is remembered that Vancouver was at sea when most boys are at school, that his whole life, until the end of his great voyage, was spent afloat, then this written record of his activities, his own composition, becomes a most impressive performance. By modern standards, his *Voyage of Discovery* is over long and the writing somewhat

1795
April

25

Similar to its other Side, and as well
erected. But the Rains which here
fall in torrents had already begun
its depredations, and before our Departure
two deep Chasms, and many Gullies almost
rendered it impassible - This appeared
occasioned by the looseness of the Soil, which
did not naturally possess Materials to
form a firm Foundation, which the elevated
situation of this Road and the Inclemency
of the Winter Months require in this
Country, and which essential Point had
evidently been omitted in its formation, -
We were nearly two hours in reaching
it reaching traversing its different Passes
which by the Old way, might have been
easily performed in half that time -

Next. From this Hill to Casa Blanca
occupies a Space of Twenty Eight
Miles, the Country is nearly uninhabited
we only saw about a dozen Miserable
Huts, calculated merely as a Defence
against a scorching Sun, for neither
they could afford against either Wind or
Rains; the Frame of these Huts are
rudely constructed, over which is a thick
layer of Mud served as a wall and
the Ground was the floor - The Inside
with respect to Accommodation and Furniture
exactly corresponded with its outward
Appearance, it proposed no one Comfort
hardly even the common Necessaries of

prosy, yet by some magic or other the reader is at last won to its author. His character, as it were, keeps breaking through the stilted conventional style. He is modest, generous in tributes to his officers and to the navigators of other nations, whose work he tests carefully and then shrewdly judges. He is meticulous in regard to all facts, judicial, and scientifically cautious. We sense the iron will of the man and the indomitable courage that never contemplated defeat; and there is something fine and rugged in this spirit housed in a frail and failing body.

He was hard on himself and hard on others; but never unjust, it would seem, nor ungenerous. His complete lack of personal vanity is patent throughout every known record that has survived him: just as the uprightness of his character and singleness of purpose are everywhere obvious. For him his profession came first and last, and to it he was prepared to sacrifice himself as he was ready to sacrifice others.

When it is borne in mind that the writing of this book was undertaken by Vancouver when far advanced in disease, that it embraces every aspect of his five years' voyage and runs to something like half a million words; and, last, when it is remembered that after more than a century very few inaccuracies have been detected in its pages, the ability, no less than the courage and fortitude of its author, become truly impressive.

Save for the final part of it, this record was put on paper by Vancouver himself, and by him corrected; he had also to make all arrangements with engravers and artists, to obtain estimates for all work to be done and submit them to the Admiralty. Thus we find him on the 15th of February, 1798, not many weeks before his death, writing at length to Evan Nepean concerning the cost of the plates—his estimate of the total cost of these to the Government being put at £1,038 15s.

‘ *Vancouver,*

‘ *Petersham—Feb. 15. 1798.*

‘ *To Edward Nepean.*

‘ SIR,—I had not the honor of receiving yours of the 10th untill the 13th instant; and the list of plates authorised by Their Lordships, to accompany the publication of my late Voyage; being with other papers at a friends house in Berkshire, I was obliged to send thither for it; as I did not wish to make out a list from memory only—Herewith I have the honor of transmitting to you a copy of it, with the expenses annexed to each article, and those which have been paid I have so marked against the respective sums.

‘ I also beg leave to state that all the Artists who have been, or are, so employed, have been informed by me, that however proper I may consider their respective charges, they will not withstanding be subject to the control of Their Lordships, and that the greatest variation in these charges, appear to be respecting the Charts. This arises in consequence of the different quantities of work in each, and the amount of their expense in the whole is £371—which I have considered as a fair price since Mr. Carey’s estimate for executing the same work was £520—subject, however, to some additional charges, in the event of this proving more laborious, than at first sight he considered them to be; and which has likewise been the case with most of those that are already finished.

‘ I have considered it proper to make this statement, of these transitions, for the information of Their Lordships and have the honor to be with the most profound respect,

‘ Sir

‘ Your most obedient and

‘ devoted humble servant

‘ GEO : VANCOUVER.’

There follows a long detailed list of thirty-three copper plates of charts and landscapes to illustrate his book, together with a summary of the items making up the £1,038 15s.

Among the artists employed by Vancouver were some of the most distinguished engravers of his time. John Landseer (he spells his name Lancier) was the father of Sir Edwin Landseer, the animal painter, and a notable engraver who agitated for the recognition, by the Royal Academy, of the engraver's art.

James Fittler, A.R.A., was Marine Engraver to George III. He engraved Titian's 'Schoolmaster,' Velazquez's 'Innocent X' and other famous paintings. James Heath, A.R.A., was Historical Engraver to George III, George IV and William IV. His best-known work is the engraving of West's 'Death of Nelson' and his Hogarth engravings. Last, comes Benjamin Pointcey, one of the best-known marine engravers of that time. These artists received fees ranging from £10 to £50 for the plates executed by them.

Attached to Vancouver's letter is the following Minute : ' 20 Feb. send to Mr. Dalrymple desiring he will examine the plates which have been engraved, and let me know whether the prices charged by the different Engravers are reasonable and proper.'

Mr. Dalrymple's answer goes into the whole subject in a most exhaustive manner, showing clearly how much care and attention was given to the production of this book.

As he toiled at his task in the quiet of his Petersham lodging, Vancouver was scheming for his future. His days of active service were done and he probably knew it, but he was looking forward hopefully to a quiet future as a small landed proprietor with his eye already upon Ealing Manor, or Eling Manor, in the Parish of Hampstead Norris, Berkshire. Vancouver, no doubt, had selected this property on the suggestion of his brother ; for John married, as his first wife, Martha Partridge, of Hockham Hall, Norfolk

(Vancouver gave that name to a point on the North-West coast), and at that time the Partridges had a seat in Berkshire.

The gravity of Vancouver's illness at this time was not apparent from his physical appearance. Abbott's portrait, taken not long before his death, shows him as a robust-looking man of sturdy frame and handsome features, tending to the fleshiness of middle age—a fleshiness that sometimes goes with the disease from which it is suggested he died. Increasing weakness now made him more and more dependent upon the services of his brother John; and before his task was finished he died at Petersham, in May 1798.

He left five volumes completed and corrected ready for the press, and he had made a start upon the final volume. That volume was completed by John Vancouver, with the help of Puget, and by him dedicated to the King.

'Ever since Vancouver's last return,' he says in the *Advertisement*, 'his health had been in a very debilitated state, as his constitution was evidently so much impaired by the arduous services in which, from his earliest youth, he had been constantly engaged, that his friends dared to indulge but little hope that he would continue many years amongst them. Notwithstanding that it pleased the Divine Providence to spare his life until he had been able to revise and complete the account of the geographical part of His late *Voyage of Discovery*, a circumstance which must ever be regarded as most fortunate by all the friends of science. There only remains for me to add that in preparing for the press the small remainder of his journal, comprehending the passage round Cape Horn to St. Helena, and from thence to England, I have strictly adhered to the rough documents before me.'

Considering the pay of the Navy of those days, the estate left by Vancouver was a substantial one, even when whatever prize money he received for the capture of the Dutch

ship *Macassar* at St. Helena is remembered. During the five years he spent on his last great voyage, Vancouver did not draw a penny-piece in pay. When he returned he was credited arrears without interest at the rate of six shillings a day. He claimed, as commander and purser, the rate of a sixth rate, namely eight shillings a day. In a letter, probably written by John and signed by him, he writes, 'I am therefore to request under the several circumstances attending the heavy expence, the Outfit for the *Discovery's* extent of voyage, and the length of time I have been out of my Pay, that you will please solicit their Lordships to grant me the same addition to my Pay, as Commander and Purser of the *Discovery*.'

The following Minute is attached to Vancouver's letter of the 19th October, 1797, concerning this question of pay :

Minute : 19 Oct. 'What precedents are there ? Was Captain Bligh made such an allowance ?'

'Sir, Captain Bligh was made such an allowance, viz 8/- Diem,'

'by order of the 20 [?] March 1794'

'this is the only instance in point'

'to be paid at the rate of 8/-.'

By his will, Vancouver left nearly the whole of his estate, proved at £5,000, to his brother John, with the exception of a bequest of £25 to James Sykes, the Navy agent of Arundel Street, London, annuities of £25 each to his sisters Mary and Sarah, and one of £50 to Charles.

The *Voyage of Discovery* was well received, and the following review of it appeared in the *Naval Chronicle* of 1799 :

'We have not of late years perused any voyage so well composed, & throughout arranged in so judicious and able a manner, as the valuable one that has been presented to the public in these volumes. Both in point of composition and ability, it must always rank high among those works, which are considered as naval classics by professional men—At

the head of these the relation of Lord Anson's voyages has long been placed ; and we think with due submission to the opinion of others, the present one of Vancouver deserves, in point of literary merit, to be held in equal estimation. . . .

'The publication we have at present to consider, which we particularly recommend to the attentive perusal of our readers, experienced a considerable disadvantage in consequence of the decease of Captain Vancouver. The first volumes, excepting the Introduction and so far as p. 288 of the last volume, were printed before his death. He had also prepared the Introduction, and a further part of the Journal as far as p. 408 of the last volume. The remainder was arranged for the Press by his brother, Mr. John Vancouver, as we are thus informed. . . . [Here follows extract.]

'If the reader compares the following account of stores and personal comforts, supplied by the Board of Admiralty for this voyage, with the painful reflections of Wallis and Cartaret on the want of them, he will perceive that since that period, a very considerable improvement has taken place in a department, which holds, as it were, in balance, the dearest interests of Great Britain. . . . [Here is extract commencing : "The Bd. of Admy., greatly attentive to our personal comforts . . ." and ending : "with a most excellent assortment of well-prepared fireworks."] . . .

'After inserting some judicious remarks on crossing the equator (p. 11), Captain Vancouver, in compliance with the method proposed in the Introduction for correcting the errors of navigation, having passed through the Atlantic, takes a retrospect (p. 14) of the whole passage. His subsequent survey of the coast of Holland, comprehending an extent of 110 leagues, affords a more correct idea of that country than we had before received ; and entirely overthrows an opinion of Dampier, who considered the whole of the western part of New Holland as consisting of a cluster of islands. . . .

‘The second volume of this interesting work by no means falls off, either in point of valuable astronomical & nautical remarks, or judicious reflections, from the preceding one. We perceive in every page, how much its author deserves the high estimation in which he was held by professional men; nor can we withhold the praise which is due to his brother Mr. John Vancouver, for the able manner in which he had supplied the difficult task that devolved upon him.

‘It has been objected by the public censors of literature, whose high talents for criticism demand every attention to be paid to their remarks, that the application of the name of North-West America, to the coast which Capt. V. was employed to survey, is taking too much license: the Admy in their instructions, give it the appellation of the North-West *Coast* of America, which is less objectionable; . . . consequently . . . the most proper denomination would have been, the *Western Coast of North America*.’

Since at that time there was no machinery for the collection of vital statistics, the cause of Vancouver’s death has remained unknown. Mr. L. V. Denton, the Canadian historian, suggests that he died of tuberculosis, and there is some evidence that this may have so been, for it was a disease rampant among sailors in those days. Vancouver exhibits characteristic phthisical symptoms. The tubercular are prone to extremes of mood, as of intense physical energy followed by collapse, and these are conditions apparent in Vancouver’s writing. They are prone to a progressive weakening of the controls, and what has been set down as the unpleasant trait of violence in him may have been but the uncontrollable temper of the phthisical.

A letter from Menzies to Banks, written at Hawaii on the 17th March, 1793, is, in this connection, of interest. ‘Next morning,’ he wrote, ‘one of the Niihau women missed a piece of ribbon which it is supposed some of those who slept in the cabin stole from her. Captain Vancouver

in endeavouring to recover this trifle, put himself into such a passion and threatened the chief with such menacing threats, that he terrified some of them out of the ship with great precipitation.'

There are, too, other small hints that point in the same direction. We find him assuring the Navy agent, James Sykes, within a very short time of his death, that his complete recovery is assured, an instance, maybe, of that *spes phthistica* that deludes so many consumptives.

Vancouver was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's, Petersham, Richmond. The parish burial-register contains the entry: 'Captain George Vancouver of the Royal Navy aged 40 of this parish. Bd. May 18th 1798.' In the ancient church, on the west wall of the north transept, there is a mural tablet to his memory, placed there, ironically enough by the Hudson Bay Company at the suggestion of the church authorities—ironically, since, until its powers were taken from it in 1858, that company retarded the development of the west by ousting all who would compete with it for the rich harvest of the fur trade.

The grave itself is severely simple, and for many years it was neglected, but it is now cared for by the people of British Columbia, who have planted in that English cemetery seedlings of British Columbia fir, and have made to that simple grave of recent years many pilgrimages.

The simplicity of this humble grave in mellow Petersham churchyard, where the peace of other days abides, befits the man. Near by, saplings are growing, year by year, so that a century hence the ground above his head will be shaded by trees whose forbears thrust strong roots into the soil of his New Albion, whence they have been carried in tribute to his memory.

Two cities bear Vancouver's name, one American, in the State of Washington, the other the metropolis that has risen in half a century on the southern shores of that inlet to which he gave Burrard's name. The Parliament buildings

at Victoria, on the island once named Quadra and Vancouver Island and now familiar as Vancouver Island, is surmounted by a giant gilded figure of him, while a stone statue adorns the niche in the provincial library building. Last, where Vancouver and Quadra met, at Friendly Cove, a granite monument has been set up by the Washington University State Historical Society.

Time, we like to believe, deals justly with the memories of men. In his lifetime, Vancouver's contributions to the sciences of navigation and of geographic discovery, particularly the supreme importance of his survey of the North-West coast of America and his numerous meticulous astronomical observations, were but minor events, remote from the stage of the Napoleonic drama.

When news of war had come to him in the Pacific he had fretted to be back to take his part ; at St. Helena, homeward bound, he lost no time in taking a hand. But the shadow of death was already upon him. Had he lived, Vancouver might have been remembered with Nelson, Hardy and the rest as a great sea captain ; for he personified the spirit of the Navy of his day, that great fighting force that had been wrought out of iron discipline and efficiency in men and materials to a strength never before achieved in British naval history. But his star was against him. By 1803 he was dead and already forgotten. He was not to witness or share in the triumphs of 1809, when the service he loved could make the valiant claim that every hostile port in Europe was sealed by its ships.

Thus he died, and thus he was forgotten. But the world moved on, and it moved westward. Twenty-four years after Vancouver's death the long Pacific coast that he had so painstakingly surveyed, and the settlements he so minutely described, passed from Spain and became part of an independent Mexico. The Mexican War with the United States ended with the transfer of that vast territory, Upper California, to the Great Republic ; and in 1848 came

the great gold rush. Two years later California came into the Union and the trek from east to west began in earnest.

Meanwhile, north of the old Spanish settlements, the same trend westward had been stimulated by the same cause—gold. And, later, by the spearhead of a trans-continental railroad.

In a word, the west, from being a nebulous territory, remote from considerations of practical world politics as is the North Pole to-day, became a vast and incalculably rich sphere for colonisation and development. And so the great survey made by Vancouver became significant, and the work he did was gradually estimated at its true value.

That work falls into several categories. As an explorer, Vancouver charted the coast of South-West Australia and added many names to the map in the South Pacific. Surveying was a passion with him, and he had shown a special aptitude for this work since his first experience of it in the West Indies under Gardner. His delineation of the long North-West coast of America is a masterly piece of work. As we have seen, he proved conclusively that within the limits of that survey no North-West Passage existed.¹

Of this work, Edward Heawood wrote: 'The geographical side of Vancouver's task was carried out with a thoroughness rarely equalled in the history of marine exploration.' And Professor George Davidson of the University of California, after forty years' work with the United States Coast and Geogetic Survey on the Pacific, wrote in a letter to Professor Meany: 'I have gone over every foot of the work done by Vancouver on this coast and I wish to say that he was a great big man.'

Vancouver acted as a pollen-carrying bee, leaving upon the remote islands of the South Seas visited by his ships, seeds, plants, tools and domestic animals. And better still, he spread ideas. At Hawaii he introduced the concepts of

¹ The North-West Passage was discovered by the McClure Expedition sixty years later.

justice and social order, and did much to kill old superstitions.

He advanced the science of navigation by a series of astronomical observations that demonstrated the utility of the new methods then in their infancy. He followed up Cook's work in the conquest of scurvy and proved that what Cook had done for the preservation of the health and strength of sailors during prolonged voyages any careful commander could do.

He foresaw the future greatness of that empty continental shore, and with shrewdness foretold the opening up of the Pacific with great ports upon the North-West coast.

Again and again he records his indebtedness to his early training under Cook, for whose reputation he was so jealous, and whose memory he revered so wholeheartedly.

There was no woman in Vancouver's life ; his years were bleakly spent afloat ; he seldom knew comfort or ease, or the refinements of life ashore. Twenty-two of his forty years were spent afloat, he seldom knew good health, and only as a dying man did he enjoy any of the amenities of life. He was never patted on the back by Authority, never honoured, never fêted, and perhaps (for such is the world) because these things he never sought.

VANCOUVER'S OFFICERS

It is not without interest to see what became of the men whom Vancouver trained in the same sea tradition that had come to him from Cook. Of some of them little can be discovered, but of others a little may be gleaned.

Barrie, who had acted often as Vancouver's clerk, was promoted lieutenant in 1795. He served on *Le Bourdelais*, twenty-four guns, commanded by his old shipmate Manby, with whom he had visited the West Indies in 1800. He was in action against the French near Barbadoes on the 28th of January, 1801, was wounded, but 'disdained to



ADMIRAL SIR ROBERT BARRIE
Reproduced by courtesy of Rodney Barrie, Esq.



JOHN VANCOUVER
*From a miniature in the possession
of Miss Peppercorne*

quit the deck.' He was recommended by Manby to the Admiralty as 'an Officer highly worthy of advancement.' He commanded the *Brilliant* in 1802, and four years later, the *Pomone*, thirty-eight guns, when he seized and destroyed seventeen French vessels bound from Nantes for Brest. He served under Collingwood in the Mediterranean when he captured a privateer commanded by the Chevalier de Boissi, Adjutant-general of France.

In 1809 he was with Collingwood's fleet off Cape Sebastian, when he again distinguished himself, signalling the approach of a French convoy from Ceylon and destroying five transports. In 1811, he captured another French ship, the privateer *Dubourdiou*, and the next year chased a brig with ordnance stores into Monte Cristo and set her on fire.

When Lucien Bonaparte was escaping with a ship laden with loot, Barrie captured her. He did not touch the fugitive's ill-gotten gains, and Lucien Bonaparte, grateful for this civility, proffered Barrie's men three hundred pounds. Barrie handed it back, with the remark, "The English do not wage war with private individuals."

When the *Pomone* was wrecked off the Needles, Barrie had to stand his trial; the court-martial, however, acquitted him. In 1813 he was in the *Dragon*, a third rate, and served in her on the coast of America until the peace of 1815. In 1813 he blockaded the Chesapeake, and to his reconnaissance was entirely due Major-General Ross's capture of the American Capital and public stores to the value of \$7,000,000.

After the failure of the Baltimore expedition under Admiral Cockburn and General Ross, Barrie once more commanded in the Chesapeake River, where he harassed the American troops, attacked their forces at Tappahanock and captured a flag bearing the eagle device and the words: 'Down with the Tyrant, and Death or Victory.'

In 1819 he was appointed to Upper Canada, having been knighted the previous year. He retired with the rank of

rear-admiral, having been created a baronet, and died in 1841. His wife was a daughter of Sir John Ingleby, Bart., of Ripley, Yorkshire. A direct descendant, Mr. Rodney Barrie, is now living in London.

Broughton had a less distinguished career, he appears to have had a somewhat cautious vein in his character that limited him as a commander. He entered the Navy in 1775, served on the *Falcon* sloop when that vessel took part in the attack on Bunker Hill, and was later captured at Cape Ann Harbour and made a prisoner of war. After his service with Vancouver, which ended when he was sent home with despatches, he was given command of the *Province*, and in her returned to the Pacific, exploring the Asiatic coast and publishing an account of his voyage. He was promoted captain in 1797 and soon after lost his ship off Formosa. He served in 1809 under Lord Gambier, and in the following year was in the West Indies and taking part in the attack on Mauritius.

His career ended when he was involved in a dispute with Admiral Stopford, when commanding a squadron at Malacca, over the tactics adopted by him. He applied for a court-martial, was refused, and in 1812 returned to England. He spent the rest of his life in Florence, where he died on the 12th of March, 1821. His wife survived him for thirty-eight years. He had one son, William, who left six daughters, one of whom has descendants now living of the name of Ventry. There are also direct descendants of his uncle, the head of the family being Sir Henry J. D. Broughton, Bart., of Nantwich, Cheshire.

Puget, considering his career, is indifferently documented. Many efforts have been made by the late Professor Carr Laughton, Professor Meany and Judge James Wickersham to reconstruct his career, but without much success.

He entered the Navy in 1778 and served in the *Dunkirk*, the next year he saw service in the North Sea in the *Syren*, and in 1780 he was in the West Indies in the *Lowestoft*,

where he also saw service in the *Thetis* and *Europa*, returning again to the *Lowestoft* in 1788, afterwards going to the East Indies on the *Prince*. He was mate in the *Discovery* when the Nootka affair exploded, and sailed in her with Vancouver as lieutenant on the great voyage.

After the return of the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, Puget commanded the *Adelphi* and later the *Theseus*. In 1797 he was promoted captain whilst serving in the *St. Nicholas*, he was captain of the *Temeraire* under Rear-Admiral Whitshed, and he successively commanded the *Barfleur*, *Monarch*, *Foudroyant* and *Goliath*. He continued on active service in the Navy until 1818 and retired with a C.B., having been for some years Commissioner at Madras. He was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1821, and died in the following year.

Puget was survived by his wife, his son William, and daughter Eleanor, who married, in 1827, Robert Raikes. There is a contemporary record of one Elizabeth, daughter of John Puget, banker, in London, who married Thomas Armstrong, of Garry Castle House, King's County, the living descendant being Thomas St. George Armstrong, of that place. This John Puget may have been the brother of the admiral.

Zachary Mudge was the son of a Plymouth doctor. At the early age of twelve he was in the *Foudroyant* when she captured the *Pegase*. He was promoted lieutenant after seven years' hard service. Vancouver, as we know, sent Mudge home with despatches from Nootka. He reached London safely, and when Broughton sailed again in to the Pacific, Mudge went with him, taking part in the survey of the Asiatic coast in the *Providence*.

After that voyage he saw service on the coast of America and in the West Indies. He was court-martialled when his ship, the *Blanche*, was sunk by the French in 1805, but was honourably acquitted. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1830 and vice-admiral in 1841. He died at fifty-two at

Plympton. Mudge kept a log of the voyage with Vancouver which is decorated with his own water-colour drawings, work that reveals in him a distinct artistic talent. He records, too, with far more literary ability than Vancouver possessed, many interesting details of the voyage, one of which may be cited. It is preceded by one of the little sketches he loved to make, of the mountains of Oparo : ‘ . . . They had not the least Idea of Barter ; whatever you ask’d them for, they gave with cheerfulness, at the same time thieving every thing that could be got at, or rather taking as a matter of course whatever caught their Attention, not having the smallest Idea of the Fraud of which the following Anecdote is a convincing Proof. One of the Petty Officer’s holding a Knife carelessly in his hand, an Indian Slipt it from him, jumpt overboard, swam to the Canoe, gave it his comrade, and return’d to the Ship with the greatest Composure imaginable. On his return, One of the Seaman who had Observ’d the Transaction, carried him on the Fore Castle, and formally made him a present of the Best Bower Anchor. The Gentleman seemed much mortifyd not at the Seamans liberality but that his Canoe was not large enough to carry off the suppos’d Acquisition.’

Of the islanders he says : ‘ The Inhabitants of Oparo are of a light Coper Colour—of a midling Stature, well made and exactly featur’d as the Otehietians perfectly good natur’d and much pleas’d with what they saw, expressing their Admiration by loud and frequent shouts, particularly on seeing a Newfoundland Dog (which at first they were much afraid of) fetch, and carry, a Pocket Handkerchief—their gestures, and Acclamations, were unbounded.’

Baker, whose memorial is the cone of the vast extinct volcano named after him—the mount Ararat of Indian legend—reached the rank of captain and died in 1817. He distinguished himself at Anhalt against the Dutch. From Vancouver’s *Voyages of Discovery* it is obvious that he regarded Baker as one of the ablest of his officers, and we

know that his was the hand that made most of the finished charts, under Vancouver's direct supervision, as we are informed by them.

Of Johnstone's career little is known. He entered the Navy as a midshipman in the *Keppel*, and after his service under Vancouver was promoted commander in 1802, and captain in 1806. He later served as Commissioner at Bombay. He also was an officer for whom Vancouver had the greatest respect, and the part he played in the making of the great survey was very considerable indeed.

Of Thomas Manby, a Norfolk man, not much is known beyond the fact that he later served in the *Charon*, commanded *Le Bourdelais* in the West Indies, and afterwards saw service in the *Africane*. More distinguished than Thomas was his brother George, inventor of the life-saving apparatus and recipient of many parliamentary grants. His apparatus came into general use after the rescue by its means of the crew of the brig *Elizabeth*; and by the time of his death nearly a thousand people are said to have been saved by it.

Spelman Swaine was promoted captain in 1810 and continued at sea until an advanced age. At sixty-five he began fourteen years' tenure of the office of chief bailiff of the Isle of Ely, having been promoted rear-admiral (retired) in 1846.

It would be interesting to know more of such promising young men as young Roberts, but even his old school, Christ's Hospital, has no knowledge of his career, and all available sources of information are silent about him.

As the bulk of Vancouver's despatches were addressed to Philip Stephens, a few facts concerning this Secretary to the Board of Admiralty may be of interest. Stephens was born in 1725, the son of Nathaniel Stephens, rector of Alhamstone, Suffolk. Lord Anson became his patron from the early days when young Stephens was a mere Navy

victualling clerk, and was instrumental in his transfer to the Admiralty, where he served more than thirty years, part of the time as Anson's secretary (1763-95). In 1771 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and was created a baronet on retiring, being granted a special pension of £1,500 a year.

Most of the minutes attached to Vancouver's original despatches are in Stephens's almost illegible handwriting. The portrait of him by Sir W. Beechey, R.A., shows a clean-shaven face with large shrewd eyes, high arched nose and firm, purposeful mouth. It is the face of a man who knew and understood life.

Evan Nepean, to whom Vancouver also sometimes addressed despatches, became Under Secretary of State under Shelburne—the first Marquess of Lansdowne—and later Secretary to the Admiralty. He was created a baronet in 1802, and for the last seven years of his active life served as Governor of Bombay.

Of John Vancouver little is known. That he had left King's Lynn before the death of his brother to settle in London, we know ; but there is nothing by which we can ascertain his occupation at that period. Although he entered into negotiations for the purchase of Ealing Manor, in Berkshire, the deeds of that property show that he never acquired it.

His first wife, Martha Partridge (daughter of Henry Partridge and Alice Taylor, daughter of a Lynn merchant), of Hockham Hall, Norfolk, died at Lanagennach, Carmarthenshire, in 1807 ; he married again and was survived by his second wife, Elizabeth, whose maiden name is unknown. He died in 1828 or 1829.

Of Charles we know nothing, though, strangely enough, there was a contemporary Charles Vancouver, an inspector under the first Board of Agriculture. This Charles Vancouver was a native of Kentucky ; it is therefore rather curious to find him associated with the great seaman's

country as the author of a book dealing with the draining of the fens (1801).

Where once Vancouver gazed from an open boat across the waters of a great harbour towards the silent forests of an unpeopled land, a tall city, named after him, raises the perpendiculars of its high buildings against the skyline ; while across the once-empty waters of Burrard's Inlet, moves, in unending procession, the shipping of a great port.

If the name James Cook stands pre-eminent in the great story of eighteenth-century exploration, after him, in the austere hierarchy of men of action, slowly emerges from an unmerited obscurity another great figure. It is that of his lieutenant, George Vancouver.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

1. *Parish Records, Eighteenth Century*

The parish records of St. Margaret's Church, King's Lynn, contain the baptismal certificate of George Vancouver. It gives the date of his birth as the 22nd of June, 1757, and the date of the baptism as 16th of March, 1761. It will be observed that he was therefore four years old at the time of his baptism.

Both date and place of Vancouver's birth have been in doubt. The former point is decided by the baptismal certificate signed by the then vicar, the Rev. Charles Bagge. The latter point is less certain. What proof is there that George Vancouver was born in the town where he was baptised? There is, it is true, the inference of the baptismal certificate: but that is all. He may have been born during the absence of his mother from her home, for she had many relatives in Norfolk and was a lady of family.

Previous to 1837 the sole records of births, death and burials were just such records kept by the clergy of the Established Church, and in the so-called non-parochial records of the Society of Friends, Nonconformists and in the Hospitals at Greenwich and Chelsea.

The absence of Vancouver's mother from her home during the time of his birth would explain the long delay in taking the child to the font.

2.

This is the last Will and Testament of me John Vancouver of 24 Molton Terrace in the parish of Saint George the Martyr in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey Esquire In the first place I nominate and appoint my beloved wife Elizabeth Vancouver Edward Hollier of 52 Bridgehouse Place in the said Borough of Southwark in the said parish and County Surgeon and James Moucur [? Moncur] of Lant St. in the said Borough of Southwark and County Baker the Executrix and Executors of this my will as well as jointly Guardians of my four children Martha Eliza George and Charles Christopher during their

minority And after payment of any funeral expenses and just and legal debts I give devise and bequeath unto my dear wife all my Estate and Effects Real and Personal of what nature or kind soever whether in possession remainder or expectancy for her natural life that is to say so long as she shall continue a widow and unmarried with full power to divide the same at her death among my said four Children in such shares and proportions as she shall think proper by her last will and Testament nevertheless that it shall be lawful for her to advance any portion of the said shares agreeably to her discretion upon either of my daughters marriage or coming of age or to both or either of my Sons for their or his education or future advancement in life before they have attained the age of twenty one years but in case of her marrying again then I will and direct that the whole of my property not previously disposed of for the purposes aforesaid namely for the use of my said Children or towards their education or advancement in life shall [? be] transferred to and become solely [? invested] in my said Executors Edward Hollier and James Moncur respectively for the uses and with the powers above mentioned with the exception of one fifth part of my personal Effects as well as one fifth part of the receipts and income arising from my Real Estates which I give and bequeath to them the said Edward Hollier and James Moncur In trust for the sole use and benefit of my said Wife and to be paid applied and disposed of as she shall direct or appoint and not to be liable to the debts engagements and control of any husband whom she may marry nevertheless in case of any such marriage and the said Property becoming transferred and vested in the said Edward Hollier and James Moncur Upon the trusts and for the purposes before declared my said Wife is in such case still to retain the power to divide and bequeath the said Estates and Property by her Will in such shares and proportions as she shall think proper to direct and appoint and for want of such direction or appointment Then I will and direct that the said Children or the survivors of them shall take equally share and share alike and if but one Child shall be living at the time of her decease then the whole to such one Child In witness whereof I have herunto set my hand and seal this eleventh day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty eight.—J. VANCOUVER. Signed sealed published and declared by the above named John Vancouver as and

for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who in his presence and at his request and in the presence of each other hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses—J. H. Fitch, Union St. Southwark—J. H. Fitch his Clerk—Ann Moncur.

Proved at London 3rd february 1829 before the Worshipful Jesse Addams Dr. of Laws and Sur by the oath of Elizabeth Vancouver Widow and Relict one of the Executors to whom Admin was granted having been first sworn duly to administer Power reserved to Edward Hollier and James Moncur the other Exors.

3. *Customs*

Until 1825, when some 443 Acts were consolidated into about half a dozen Statutes, the whole system of customs collection was cumbersome and inefficient. At the time when John Vancouver acted as salaried Deputy Customer, the office was farmed out to patentees, and it was from such a sinecure-holder that Vancouver held office. The King's Lynn patent was worth about £1,200 a year.

4. *Pedigree of Vancouver's Mother*

The pedigree of Vancouver's mother was the subject of a monograph by Mr. G. H. Anderson, of King's Lynn. He traced the Berners family back to the sixteenth century and proved that Vancouver's forbears on the maternal side included such illustrious names as Sir Richard Grenville, and his grandson, Sir Bevil Grenville. Bridget, his mother, baptised 24th August, 1715, was the daughter of William Berners of St. Mary Wiggenshall, who dissipated the family estates.

5. *Impressment*

Impressment was the form of conscription whereby the English Navy was formerly recruited. It dates back to Edward I. Seamen, river watermen, and even landsmen were liable to forcible seizure. But the burden fell chiefly upon seafaring men, so that the system was not based on such principles of justice as govern modern conscription. The Black Book of the Admiralty shows that it was one of the admirals' chief duties to keep a record of seamen available for impressment. When the necessity arose,

the impressment laws were put into operation by the press-warrants of the Privy Council under Orders. Usually the press-gang sallied forth under a naval officer, but sheriffs, mayors and bailiffs were likewise empowered to press men into the royal service. Privateers and merchantmen were liable to be boarded by the press-gang (see page 3). Many Acts of Parliament were passed regulating impressment from Philip and Mary to George III. In the seventeenth century an Act was passed to find the seamen necessary for the prosecution of the Dutch War (1652). In 1835 impressed seamen were liable to five years' service only, and even then in cases of national necessity alone; and by that date the system was already giving place to the bounty system.

6. *Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, 1713 ?-75*

Admiral Saunders commanded the fleet at the taking of Quebec. The victory over the French under Montcalm has always been credited to Wolfe. Yet without the co-operation of Admiral Saunders there could have been no victory. This great sailor has never received his due for the part he played in this battle. For eleven weeks before the actual assault upon the Heights of Abraham, Saunders and his officers, among them Cook, were charting the channel of the St. Lawrence, a dangerous and difficult task, the successful completion of which, however, made it possible for the ships to take the troops up river to within a mile and a half of Quebec. He entered the Navy at fourteen years of age; was promoted lieutenant at twenty-one; commander and captain, 1741; was with Hawke in the battle against the French on 14th October, 1747, when de l'Etendure was defeated. He sat in the House of Commons for twenty-one years; was Comptroller of the Navy, 1755; commander-in-chief of the St. Lawrence fleet at Quebec, and retired as full admiral.

7. *Dolland's Micrometer*

Among the many makers of scientific instruments who were working with one eye upon the magnificent rewards promised by the Board of Longitude (see page 5) was John Dolland. In 1757 he began to market the achromatic telescope for which his name has always been famous, and in 1761 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, after having been presented in 1758 with the Copley

Gold Medal of the society. Round about 1770 the Dolland telescope was being used on sextants, and there are a number of communications between Peter Dolland, the eldest son of John Dolland, and the Royal Society, and other opticians and scientific men about that date. The recent researches show that the original idea of the achromatic telescope was first suggested by Chester Moore Hall, but that he did no practical work on it, and that the practical application and advantages of the invention were entirely developed by John Dolland.

8. *Alexander Dalrymple, 1737-1808*

Younger brother of Sir David Dalrymple. Hydrographer. Served with the East India Company at Madras for some years when a youth. When twenty-two made an extensive exploration of the eastern islands and was then sent by the E.I.C. to open up trade with Sulu. Later he became hydrographer to the E.I.C. and to the Admiralty, being dismissed from the latter position in 1808, three weeks before his death. Dalrymple was offered the command of the expedition now famous as Cook's second great voyage. He made many difficulties, however, being of an arbitrary mind and autocratic. He asked for wider powers than were reasonable, and these being refused, he withdrew. He wrote extensively upon the southern Pacific and in his day enjoyed a higher reputation than his abilities perhaps warranted.

9. *Scale of Pay in Vancouver's Day*

A.B. 1s. 4d. per month (of twenty-eight days).

Midshipman. According to nominal rating.

Lieutenant. 4s. per day in small craft, i.e. third rates.

N.B.—Vancouver's ships, *Martin* sloop, *Fame*, *Europa* and *Courageux* were all third rates.

Commander. 6s. per day.

Captain. 8s. per day.

Ships in the Thames were paid off at Somerset House.

10. *William Wales, b. ?, d. 1798*

Wales was a brilliant mathematician. He was sent by the Royal Society to Prince of Wales' Fort, Hudson Bay, to observe the transit of Venus. The next year, 1770, accompanied Cook, as representative of Board of Longitude, in *Resolution*. Elected a

Fellow of the Royal Society, 1776 ; and in the same year sailed with Cook on his last voyage. His astronomical observations made during that voyage were published by the Board of Longitude. In the same year he published *Observations on a Voyage with Captain Cook*. He also wrote a spirited reply to an account of the voyage published by Forster. The avidity with which the public awaited the publication of Cook's *Voyage* led to the bribing of members of his crew to give personal unauthorised accounts. Forster, in his, made many allegations against Cook, and his story appeared some weeks ahead of the commander's *Journal*. On the death of Daniel Harris, Wales was appointed mathematics master at Christ's Hospital, the only school then, as now, to teach astronomy as part of the ordinary curriculum. When Wales went to Christ's Hospital the teaching of his subject was in a very inefficient state, and discipline was such that the boys were said to be a terror to the whole community. Wales restored discipline. According to the Rev. W. Trollope, and the *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, Wales was frank and open in his temperament, more loved for his goodness of heart than the heaviness of his hand. He was a wit, speaking a provincial dialect that caused mirth in his pupils. He was a great teacher. He is buried in the south cloister of the hospital, and in the offices of Christ's Hospital, in London, there is preserved the chair he used as astronomer on the *Resolution* during the second voyage of Cook.

11. *John Harrison, 1693-1776*

John Harrison, who started life as a carpenter, was a genius whose name deserves to be saved from oblivion. He started studying clocks and watches, with the view of perfecting their movements, particularly with a view to the perfection of a watch that should be accurate in all climates. Harrison worked for many years before he made the chronometer which solved the great longitude problem. That success was the result of his perfection of the compensation of the balance wheel. He was also the inventor of the going fusee, the remontoir escapement and the gridiron pendulum.

12. *Cook's Death*

Judge Fornander, historian of the island, sums up on the result of this visit as follows : ' He [Cook] came as a god, and in the untutored minds of the natives was worshipped as such ;

but his death dispelled the illusion, and by those whom he might have so largely benefited he is only remembered for the quantity of iron that for the first time was so abundantly scattered over the country, and for the introduction of a previously unknown and terrible disease. "The ships," says King Kalakaua, "finally sailed northward . . . leaving behind them a train of evils which a full century of time has failed to eradicate."'

The Rev. H. H. Gowen (*Canadian Magazine*, February 1894), says: 'Cook was regarded as the harbinger of depopulation, disease and death, Vancouver's memory is universally honoured. His three visits to the islands are regarded as propitious events.'

Mr. A. P. Taylor, Archives Librarian of Hawaii, repudiates the view that Cook was murdered. 'True,' says Mr. Taylor, 'he was killed, but Captain Cook had gone ashore armed, and was accompanied by a guard of marines, armed. Captain Cook went ashore with the avowed purpose of compelling the King of Hawaii, Kalaniopuu, to compel the delivery back to Captain Cook of a small boat which had been taken away during the previous night by the islanders. In lieu of such delivery Captain Cook planned to require or compel the king to go aboard his flagship with him.

'There were marines, armed, Captain Cook armed; the latter ashore to require submission to his command. There had been peace and goodwill. Captain Cook had placed a taboo upon the bay—no canoes to be allowed upon it. Not informed of the taboo a high chief put forth in his canoe; was fired upon from one of the ships; was killed; a native ashore sped around from Napoopoo to Kaawaloa to inform the crowd, in which was Captain Cook, of the chief's death; the brother of the chief was in the foreground of the crowd, near Cook. The natives did not wish Kalaniopuu to go aboard; Cook insisted. The attitude of the crowd became resentful. There were menacing attitudes on the part of the natives as well as Cook. The latter's pistol was discharged, and again, later, a native was murdered. . . . A *melée* had started among armed men. . . . It was a small battle, or engagement, of men-at-arms.'

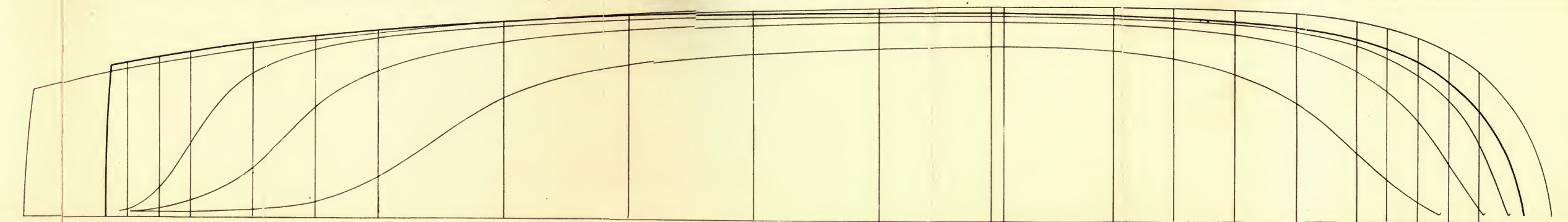
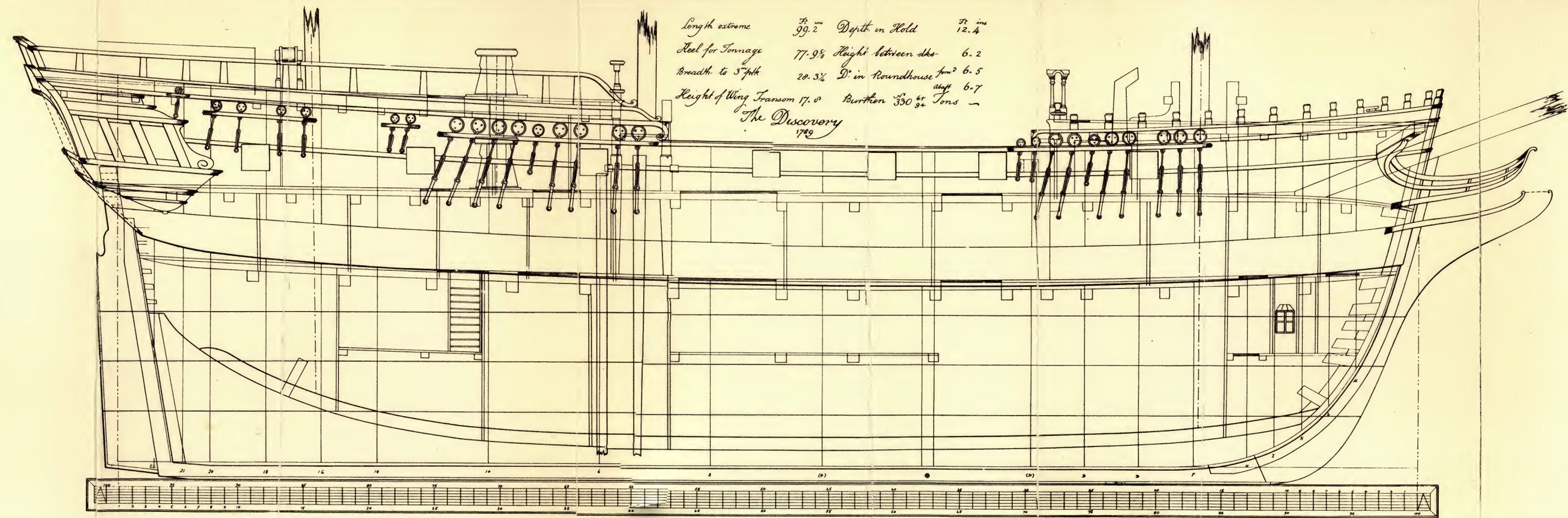
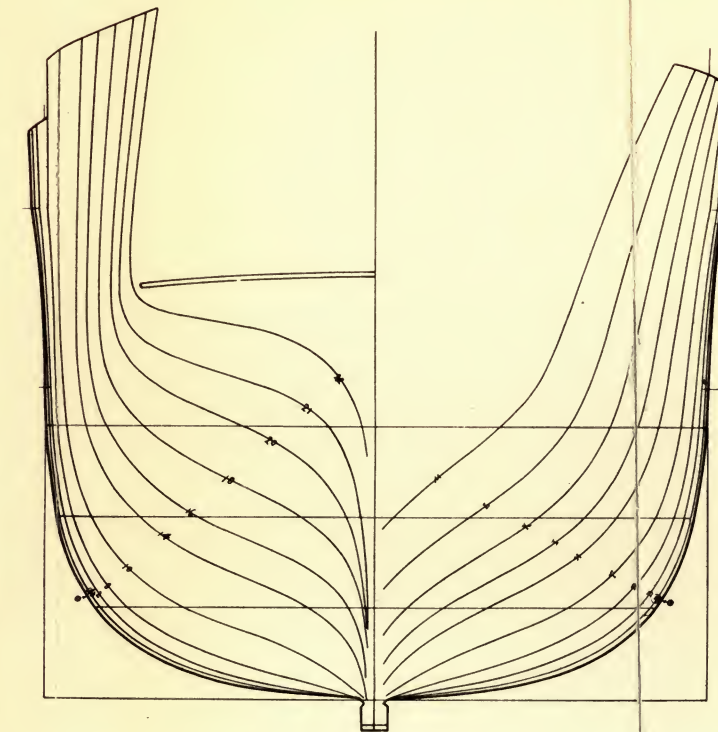
13. *The Discovery*

The *Discovery* was completed in 1789 at the yards of Randall & Brent, on the Thames. She was a sloop, 99 feet 2 inches in length

and her designer gives her burden as 330 tons. (The Admiralty records have it as 337, and Vancouver as 340.) She was copper fastened, sheathed with plank, and coppered over, mounted ten four-pounders, and ten swivels. After her return from the great voyage she was converted into a bomb, or monitor. In 1801 she was commanded by John Conn, Nelson's cousin, who later commanded the *Dreadnought* at Trafalgar. In 1808 she was made into a convict ship and transferred from the Navy to the Secretary of State's Department. In 1834 she was broken up at Deptford. The illustration of her as a convict ship which faces page 148 refers to her as Captain Cook's *Discovery*, this, on the authority of the Admiralty archivist, is an error on the artist's part: the print shows Vancouver's ship.

14. *John Meares, b. 1756 ? d. 1809*

John Meares, a former naval commander, was one of the many adventurers who sought fortunes in the Pacific fur trade. The South Sea Company held a monopoly west of Cape Horn, a fact that did not greatly trouble Meares, who merely formed a trading company in India, sailed under the flag of Portugal, and thus went freely about his business. His ship, *Iphigenia*, flew the Portuguese colours as camouflage, and it was this circumstance that led to the first difficulty with the Spanish commander, José Martinez, at Nootka, Meares laying claim to the land by right of purchase. The *Iphigenia* was one of the seized ships, over which the international dispute with Spain arose. Meares was an adventurer first, last and all the time, and his claims to be considered as a serious explorer are slight. He did, however, explore Prince William Sound. His Journal abounds in errors and, unlike the writings of Cook and Vancouver, is not from his hand, but from that of a professional romancer. Among other inaccuracies, he stated in his Journal that Captain Robert Gray, of the *Lady Washington* had circumnavigated the territory upon which Nootka was situated and had proved it to be an island. His chart, however, has but to be compared with Vancouver's to demonstrate the falsity of his story. This map was ridiculed by Captain George Dixon in a famous public controversy, now forgotten, when Meares made the damaging admission that he had constructed his chart from material supplied to him by Captain Kendrick, Gray's associate.





15. 1790 *Project for North West Coast America**Grenville to Phillip.*

Whitehall, March 1790.

It being the King's intention that his Majesty's ships *Discovery* and *Gorgon*—the former of which has been fitted for the purpose of surveying . . . should be employed upon an expedition on the north-west coast of America, and his Majesty having, with that view, ordered that the lower-deck guns, carriages, etc. of the *Gorgon* shall be carried out in her hold, I am commanded to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that as soon as the said troops and stores shall have been landed from the ship you do direct her commander to mount her guns and to put her in a fit condition as soon as possible for proceeding on that service.

As the present company of that ship is barely sufficient for navigating her, it will be expedient that as many officers and men as can possibly be spared from the *Sirius* should be lent to her during the expedition, which you will order to be done as soon as possible, and such deficiency as will then remain in the number of her war establishment of men you will complete from the marine corps now serving on shore.

One of the objects of this expedition being to form a settlement on the nor.-west coast of America, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should select from among the people with you a proper number of persons to compose it, and that you should embark them either on board the *Discovery* or *Gorgon*.

The extent of this establishment, it is imagined, need not at first exceed thirty persons, a moiety of whom at least should consist of drafts from the new corps, under the command of a discreet subaltern officer, who is to be entrusted with the temporary superintendence of the new settlement. The remainder should consist of two or three of the most intelligent of the overseers, who have lately been sent out, a storekeeper, and any other persons who may be desirous of accompanying them, together with a few of the most deserving of the convicts, to whom you may offer a remission of a part of their service [sentence] as an inducement to go.

And you will be careful to embark on board these ships such articles of stores, provisions, medicines and utensils for building, etc. as you may judge sufficient for their use, in order to enable them to fulfil the object of forming such a settlement as may be able to resist any attacks from the natives, and lay the foundation

of an establishment for the assistance of his Majesty's subjects, in the prosecution of the fur trade from the N.W. coast of America.

As the chief command of this expedition is intended to be entrusted to the captain of one of his Majesty's ships now in the East Indies, directions have been sent to Commodore Cornwallis to despatch such frigate immediately to Owyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands . . . directing her captain to wait there until he shall be joined by the *Discovery* and *Gorgon*, when he is to lose no time in making the best of his way to the American coast, agreeably to the enclosed instructions, a copy of which is transmitted to you for your further information. You will entrust the original to the care of the commander of the *Discovery*, and the duplicate with the commanding officer of the *Gorgon*. You will despatch both these vessels to the place of rendezvous, at Owyhee, as soon as they are in a situation to proceed thither, and upon their meeting with the frigate above mentioned, the commanding officer will deliver to the captain of the frigate the despatches which you shall have committed to their care, and will put themselves under his orders.

It is hoped that the frigate from the East Indies and the two vessels above mentioned will arrive at Owyhee soon enough to allow some time for refreshment to their crews, and to enable them to be on the coast of America early in the spring ; but if, from any unforeseen event, the frigate which Commodore Cornwallis is directed to order upon this service should not reach the Sandwich Islands before the end of the month of April, 1791, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should direct the senior officer of the two ships to open the despatches, and proceed with those two ships to execute the instructions, leaving on his departure from thence one of his people with the natives, to be taken up again on his return, or adopting any other mode he may judge more advisable for conveying to the captain of the frigate information of the route he may design to take, with a view to his proceeding to the place of destination.

You will receive by the *Discovery* and *Gorgon* certain packages marked and numbered agreeably to the enclosed list,¹ containing such articles as are most esteemed by the people of the Sandwich Islands and the inhabitants of the American coast, in order to barter with them for provisions, and such other necessities as they can supply, which packages they are to deliver to the commander of

¹ Missing.

the frigate, if they should join him on their arrival at the Sandwich Islands, or to make use of themselves in case of his absence. . . .

16. *Vancouver* : H.M. Sloop *Discovery*, Deptford.

Jan. 3, 1791.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—Finding that H.M. Sloop under my command will stow more than 12 Months Provisions (the quantity ordered to be supplied to the said Sloop)—I have to request that you will be pleased to beg their Lordships to grant an order for the said Sloop to be supplied with as much more Provisions as she can conveniently stow.

I am

Sir

Your most obdt
hble Sert

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—‘ 3 Jan. To be supplyd with such additl Quantities of Provns & Stores as she can conveniently receive on bd.’]

17. *Vancouver* : *Discovery*, Deptford.

To Philip Stephens.

Jan. 7, 1790.

SIR,—Conceiving it highly necessary from the many situations in which a large portion of the Ships Company will frequently be placed on shore among the Indians—for their better protection, I have to request that you will be pleased to move their Lordships that H.M. Sloop under my command should be supplied with the following Ordnance & Ordnance Stores viz.

Four 3 lb Brass Field Pieces with travelling Carriages (to take to pieces) together with a proportion of fixed ammunition for the same—

The whole of the Powder which was ordered to be supplied to H.M. Sloop *Discovery* under her late Commander to be small strong powder—

Being thirty six half Barrels

One powder Sieve

12 pounds of mealed Powder

8 Do of Sulphur

8 Do of pulverized Nitre

6 dozen of Fuzes large

2 Mallets

2 Drivers

} for
fake Fires

Ten patent Spunge heads—Spare

Red paint one Cwt []
 White Do one Cwt
 Black Do half Cwt
 Oil—Linseed 30 Gallons
 Brushes for Paint 12

I am

Sir

Your most obdt
 hble Sert.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—‘ 8 Jan. desire M.G. of O. (Master Gen. of Ordnance)
 to comply therewith.

Own rect. & let him know it.']

18. An Account of the Number of Officers and Men on board the
Discovery Sloop of War, in December 1790.

<i>Officers</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Names</i>
Captain	1	George Vancouver
Lieutenants	3	{ Zachariah Mudge Peter Puget Joseph Baker
Master	1	Joseph Whidbey
Boatswain	1	
Carpenter	1	
Gunner	1	
Surgeon	1	
Midshipmen	6	
Master's mates	3	
Boatswain's mates	3	
Carpenter's mates	3	
Gunner's mates	2	
Surgeon's mates	2	
Carpenter's crew	4	
Master at arms	1	
Corporal	1	
Sail-maker	1	
Sail-maker's mate	1	
Armourer	1	
Cook	1	
Cook's mate	1	

<i>Officers</i>	<i>No.</i>
Clerk	1
Quartermasters	6
Able Seamen	38
Serjeant	1
Corporal	1
Privates	14
<hr/>	
Total	100

An Account of the Names of Officers and Men on board the *Chatham* armed Tender, in December, 1790.

<i>Officers</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Names</i>
Commander	1	Lieut. W. R. Broughton
Lieutenant	1	James Hanson
Master	1	James Johnstone
Boatswain	1	
Carpenter	1	
Gunner	1	
Surgeon	1	
Midshipmen	4	
Master's Mates	2	
Boatswain's mates	2	
Carpenter's mates	2	
Gunner's mates	2	
Surgeon's mate	1	
Sail-maker	1	
Armourer	1	
Clerk	1	
Quartermasters	4	
Able seamen	10	
Serjeant } Privates }	Marines { 7	
Total		45

Vancouver : Long Reach.

Jan. 7th, 1791.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* under my command being arrived in Long Reach ; I am to request you will move their

Lordships that the Marines allowed in her establishment be ordered to embark with all convenient speed.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—' 12th Jan let him know he will be supplyd therewith when the ship arrives at the Nore.']

Vancouver : Discovery, Deptford.

Jan. 7th, 1791.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—In consequence of the heavy expence attending myself and Officers in the out-fit for this Voyage of considerable length to remote parts I am to request that you will move their Lordships that I may be indulged in our passage down Channel to stop for eight and forty hours at Guernsey for the purpose of supplying ourselves with Wine Spirits etc free of the Dutys.

I am

Sir

Your most obdt

hble Sert

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Vancouver : Discovery, Long Reach.

Jan 7, 1790.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—I have to request that you will be pleased to inform their Lordships that at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 PM His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* under my Command cast off from her moorings at Deptford & proceeded down the River—The pilot conceiving Gallions not an eligible place to anchor—We stood down to Long Reach where the said Sloop is moored to wait for her Ordnance Stores etc etc etc.

I am

Sir

Your most obdt

hble Sert

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—' 8 Jan Own rect & approve.']

NOTE.—It will be observed that Vancouver makes the common error of the first days of a new year of writing the date of the old in these letters.

Vancouver : Discovery, Spithead.

5 Feb 1791.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—The Boatswain of His Majesty's Sloop under my command having absented himself from his duty, without leave, on the 17th ult : and there being no prospect of his returning : I am to request you will be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty therewith. And as it appears to me that the person named in the Margin [Thomas Kele] (at present doing duty on board the *Discovery* as Quarter Master) is a deserving man, and in every respect qualified for the employment, I beg leave to recommend him to their Lordship's as a fit person to be appointed Boatswain of the *Discovery*—I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—' 7th Feb Thos Kele to be Bt in his room. Let him know it. Put in the absentee on the B1 Book.']

A letter from Vancouver to Philip Stephens encloses the following from Mr. Cranstoun, surgeon to the *Discovery*.

Cranstoun : Discovery, Spithead.

12th Feb 1791.

To Vancouver.

SIR,—It having been found necessary to send the persons named in the margin [Wm Guy and W Macready, Frak Brown, James Drummond], belonging to His Majesty's Sloop under your command, to the Hospital this day ; and from the nature of their several diseases, being, principally, long established and inveterate complaints, being of opinion that a thorough re-establishment of their health is not speedily to be expected ; and therefore judging them very improper persons to proceed The Voyage : I think it my indispensable duty to state this matter to you, that you may be enabled to take such measures thereon, as you shall judge proper to the occasion.—I am, with much respect.

Sir,

Your mo : ob : humble St

A. P. CRANSTOUN

Surgeon.

Vancouver : Suffolk Street No. 24.

Feb. 21st, 1791

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—In examining the list of stationery ordered to be supplied me by Messrs Lawrence & Winchester I find the following articles not included which are of importance and absolutely necessary for the Service I am going on ; I am therefore to request that you will move their Lordships that a farther Supply be granted : of

- 3 Quire of Extra large Drawing paper
- 5 Do of Elephant
- 2 Do of India Tracing Paper
- 8 Doz of best black led pencils
- 200 pins
- 2 Imperial Books
- 1 Do Ruled
- 1 Dozen Cakes of Indian Ink

I hereby beg leave to observe that on former Voyages the Draughts men, and Astronomers were largely supplied with those articles, which rendered it unnecessary for Captn Cook to apply for them. I have the honor to be Sir

Your most obedient humble Servt

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[‘ 21st Feb. The Stationer to supply him therewith. Let him know it.’]

(The above letter was written while Vancouver was in London on extended leave.)

Vancouver : 24 Suffolk Street.

Feb. 15, 1791.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—It having been customary on former Voyages to remote parts, to pay to the Ships Companies all the wagers [*sic*] due to them while the Ships were equipping ; as well as the two months advance ; that they might be the better enabled, to provide themselves necessary articles for their use, during so long a voyage ; but from the shortness of time the *Discovery* & *Chatham*, have been in Commission ; as such an indulgence to a major part of their crews, would be but little importance ; I am to request you will move their Lordships, that the Ships Companies of the

Discovery & Chatham; are Paid instead of two, three months in advance.

Which indulgence I hope their good conduct will merit.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute - ' 16th Feby order accordly Let them know it.']

19. *Archibald Menzies.*

Archibald Menzies was born at Stix, near Aberfeldy, Perthshire, and baptised on 15th of March, 1754 (see Note 1). He was educated at Weem parish school. On leaving school he went to Edinburgh and, having decided to become a botanist, entered the Royal Botanic Garden there as a student. At the same time he entered as a medical student. After a botanical tour of the Highlands, and some experience as a surgeon's assistant in Carnarvon, he entered the Navy as assistant surgeon and was present at the Battle of the Saints in 1782. He served for some years on the Halifax station, during which time he corresponded with Mr. Joseph Banks (later knighted) who had sailed with Cook in the *Endeavour*. When Menzies' ship, the *Assistance*, returned home he heard of the proposed expedition and expressed his desire to accompany it as surgeon, so that he could continue his botanical studies. This expedition lasted nearly three years. In 1790 he was appointed to accompany Vancouver as botanist. Sir Joseph Banks furnished Menzies with his instructions at the request of Lord Grenville. Menzies next served on the *Sanspareil* in the West Indies under Lord Hugh Seymour. In 1796 he was elected a member of the Linnean Society, and later became its president. On retiring from the sea he practised medicine in London, where he died on 15th February, 1842. Data from Memoir No. V., Archives of British Columbia.

20.

Vancouver : Haymarket No 8.

Dec. 15, 1790.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—In consequence of an order from Admiral Barrington dated on Board the *Royal George* at Spithead Novr 17, 1790, having repaired to London to attend the commands of the Lords

OV

Commissioners of the Admiralty and this day receiving my appointment to His Majesty's Sloop the *Discovery* ; I am to request you will move their Lordships to grant the defraying of my traveling charges from Portsmouth as also my expences for twenty six days attendance in Town to receive the commands of their Lordships agreeable to their directions communicated by you to

Sir

Your most obedient &
very humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Vancouver : Discovery, Falmouth.

Coming & going	10. 10. 0
allowance	6. 10. 0
	<hr/>
	17. 0. 0
coming & going	12. 12. 0
2d time	12. 12. 0
	<hr/>
	29. 12. 0

[Minute - ' 22 Feb. To be pd the usual allowance Travellg Expences & an Allowance at the rate of 5 Shills. a day from his arrl. in Town to the day of his appt. to the *Discovery*. 15 Dec. 1790.']

To Philip Stephens.

March 12, 1791.

SIR,—Having been favord with the perusal of the rough draft of my instructions ; and the knowledge I have of the countries we are likely to visit as also the supplies there is a probability of our drawing from them, are subjects which necessarily must have occupied a very large portion of my consideration since I returned to the Ships respecting such measures to be adopted as to insure the success & completion of our expedition under all its different heads.

Provisions, and Stores ; and the proper period, when such articles as are necessary, will be most acceptable are therefore points of the greatest importance, & in course [?] has induced me very closely to investigate the quantity of stores, and provisions, on board ; as also, the quantity we may be able to take into the Ship at the Cape of Good Hope ; and on mature deliberation, I do not entertain the smallest doubt of being able to sail from that Port with eighteen months stores ; and the same proportion of provisions ; Salt meat excepted ; for a certain part of which

flour and fruit will be substituted, the other portion and in all human probability, infinitely more, will be procured among the different South Sea Islands. Under these circumstances I have considered that it may be an object with Government for one supply to answer all the purposes of our Voyage; therefore provided the Vessel which is to be dispatched with such stores, and provisions; is of sufficient magnitude, to take on board eighteen months stores, and provisions; for the *Discovery*, & *Chatham*; agreeable to the annexed inventory; as there doth not appear a probability of our being in want of any supply whatever, before the end of the year 1792, or the beginning of 1793; such being the case I humbly conceive it would not be advisable that the Vessel should be equipd for that purpose sooner than to enable her to meet us at the Sandwich Islands about Janry 1793, as those provisions cannot possibly come into use before that time, and may be obliged to last us near two years after that period, therefore the fresher we are able to procure them from Europe the better; and should a supply be sent out prior to the period here stated for instance, about this time twelve months as mentioned in the instructions; we shall then be able only to compleat to eighteen months from that time, and should want another supply in Sept 1793, to allow us to put into execution the Southern object of our expedition, where as, such supplies meeting us in the beginning of 1793, would fully enable us to prosecute all the objects of the voyage at present pointed out.

In the inventory of provisions for two reasons I have demanded the full proportion of all species for eighteen months, first fearing any unfortunate circumstances might occur to prevent our acquiring such supplies as we naturally expect from the South Sea Islands, by which means, (having a less Quantity) a disappointment might take place in the thorough execution of our Voyage & lastly the necessity Government will for some time be under to send provisions etc, to the Colony of New South Wales; such articles as it may not be absolutely necessary (provided I procure the refreshment I expect from the Islands) for us to take the full proportion of on board which will be principally Salt Meat and probably some of the flour and bread; she may on her return home leave them at one of those settlements.

I have also mentioned besides the wine to be supplied by the Victualling Office (who will supply us with no other than the common

light thin Wine served generally to the Navy) three pipes of Port Wine of a sound and good quallity for keeping to be sent out least any epidimick disorder may attack us in the course of the Voyage.

The casks I wish to contain each article are mentioned against them being of such sizes as we can stow in our different holds with most convenience : also when I began this letter my intentions were to have likewise transmitted an account of the *Chatham's* proportion of stores, & provisions ; for the same length of time, but not being perfectly acquainted what sort of casks she most conveniently stows, shall defer sending her inventory untill she joins us ; and as Mr. Davison of Harper Street who provided the trade for us and has still a considerable portion remaining among which are some very heavy and necessary articles, it is requested that he should be informed in the early stage of the equipment of this Vessel as many of those articles ought to be among the first things put on board, no part of which we were able to take from not having it in time.

In respect to the place of rendezvous at the Sandwich Islands there are two situations which appear to me equally eligible the one at Wahoo to the westward of its S.E. point having there a fine large bay with good anchorage which I would advise being attended to in the first instance, but should they there find the inhabitants troublesome or not be able to procure refreshments, they ought then to run down to Atooi (which is farther Leeward) and anchor in Wymoa Bay the anchoring place of Captn Cook and all the Navigators who have visited that Island since him.

Such are the Ideas which have occurd to me respecting the best mode of procuring the necessary supplys for the Completion of the expedition and which I think it my duty to request you will lay before their Lordships for their beter consideration on that subject.

I write this letter at Sea that not a moment may be lost in your receiving it trusting that I may be favord with a reply prior to my departure from Falmouth, *particularly as to the time* I may expect to meet such Supplies as are to be sent out, for in case my plan should be adopted of their being at the Sandwich Islands in the beginning of the Year 1793 as our researches on the American Coast are to commence in a low latitude I might be induced to quit those Islands earlier next spring than the time stipulated by the instructions which upon reflection, I think somewhat too late.

Their Lords may probably conceive that the different

circumstances here stated ought to have been mentioned when I was last in Town which undoubtedly would have been the case had I been sufficiently prepared collected at that time but the indisposition I then laboured under with the multiplicity of circumstances of various kinds which occupied every moment of my leisure will I trust plead my excuse for such a neglect. Calm and contrary winds since our departure from Spithead has in some measure retarded our progress down Channel much more than I could wish this however will I hope be attended with one good effect that of enabling me to receive Ramsdens instrument as I should be exceedingly distressed were I to sail without it.

We arrived here about four this afternoon but have no tidings of the *Chatham* and as the winds are very light from the Westward I fear she will not make her appearance for some days, and should my final orders from your office not arrive untill within a day or two when I may expect your reply to this letter, provided they should not contain any particular strict injunction for my immediate departure I shall conceive myself authorized to wait the return of post, as I think quitting the Sandwich Islands early next spring a point of no small importance. . . .

. . . Having nothing farther at present to communicate beg leave to say I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most Obedient humble
servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

21.

Menzies to Banks : Discovery, Falmouth.

14.3.1791.

SIR JOSEPH,—I wrote to you a few days before we left Portsmouth, but said nothing relative to my mess, as I was then in hopes that Capt. Vancouver's presence might bring the business to a more favourable settlement. On the contrary, I found he was as averse as any of the rest to submit it to the arbitration of an impartial judge acquainted with the rules of the Navy. In this situation I resolved to mess in my own cabin, but finding that the few utensils and other things necessary to be laid in for so long a voyage would lumber it up so much that the intention of giving me such a good one might be entirely destroyed, I therefore waited on Capt. Vancouver the day we left Spithead, and situated



as I was, submitted the whole business to his own decision (tho' I well knew it would fall heavy upon me unless the Treasury would bear a part). In consequence of this I am admitted into the gun room mess on being considered as a member of it from its first establishment, and paying an equal share towards it; that is, I paid £20 to the former mess without receiving the least indulgence for it, & £70 to the present mess before I lived a day in it, which is as equal from its first commencement and for the present supplies laid in for the voyage. As this is an imposition which I never expected I should be obliged to countenance, I must now trust my cause entirely into your hands, & hope the Treasury will allow me for that part of the expense incurred in the present mess before I joined the *Discovery*, which will amount at least to about £20, & may be included in the order for the payment of the arrears of my salary at present in the Treasury, in the same manner as the former was, without much additional trouble, to Mr. Nepean. In so doing you will greatly oblige he who has the honor to be with due respect,

Yours etc.

ARCH'D MENZIES.

22.

Vancouver : Discovery, Falmouth.

March 20, 1791.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—By an Admiralty messenger I am this morning favored with my final instructions from your office and immediately on the arrival of His Majesty's armed tender the *Chatham* shall with all possible dispatch proceed on our voyage.

I am much concerned to find from Mr. Nepean that I am to be disappointed in the instrument Mr. Ramsden was ordered to supply me with; I however still hope that the Vessel which is to follow us with a supply of stores, & provisions; may also be able to bring the instrument; and am to request that directions are given to that effect.

In the looking over the papers received from you this day. I observe there is nothing mentioned respecting the delivering up the Journals, Charts, Observations, etc. etc. of the Officers, ships company & persons on Board at the conclusion of the expedition; for the use inspection or information of their Lordships & though from knowing such to be the wishes of Government; I shall cause the same to be put into execution yet in case any accident

befalls me I humbly conceive such orders should be extant for the information of my Successor I have therefore taken the liberty of reminding you of it, but as I sincerely hope nothing will occur that can possibly detain us here to receive your answer on that Subject, such directions as their Lordships may think proper to give will arrive time enough by the afforsaid Vessel

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Vancouver : Discovery in Simons Bay,
Cape of Good Hope.

17 July, 1791.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—I beg you will do me the favor to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that on the tenth instant His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* and *Chatham* armed-Tender under my Command arrived in this Bay in most perfect health.

There were, however in the crew of the *Discovery* four men whose debilitated habits rendered them unfit for his Majesty's service :—they have therefore been invalided ; and we have found others more capable of supplying their places. I take the opportunity of the departure of the *Warren-Hastings* of announcing our arrival, and transmitting for their Lordships' information the State and Condition as well as the Defects of His Majesty's Vessels under my command. The Time-keeper on board the *Discovery*, made by Kendall has answered to great accuracy. The one on board the *Chatham* made by Arnold, has differed materially. However, on these, as well as other subjects, I shall write more fully on the eve of our departure, which I trust will be in about a fortnight ; until when, I have the honor to be,

Sir

Your most obedient

and very humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

An Account of the Defects of His Majs. Sloop *Discovery*, George Vancouver Esq. Commr. in Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, 17 July 1791—Viz.

The Quarter-Deck, Forecastle and topsides wants caulking.

The Bowsprit being weak requires to be fished.

An upper and lower rail to the starboard side of the head wanted.

Larboard upper rail of Do. wants repairing, and a new lower rail wanted.

Two new timbers on each side in the head wanted.

A new lace-piece wanted in consequence of the head being raised.

Framing of the head, all to be new, except one thwart-ship-carling.

Seats of ease, all to be new, the old being washed away.

Iron horse of the head on the starboard side lost.

H. PHILLIPS, Carpr.

N.B. The *Chatham* wants caulking.

Vancouver to Grenville : Discovery, Fals [False] Bay,
C. of G. Hope.

Aug. 9, 1791.

MY LORD,—Since receiving my instructions at Falmouth for the prosecution of our voyage I have much regreted not being fortunate enough in a farther interview with your Lordship to have gained your final opinion respecting the examination of that extent of coast of the S.W. side of New Holland, which in the present age appears a real blot in geography, particularly when we reflect on the many vessels that in this improved age of navigation have passed the meridians ; we have every reason to suppose it occupies not more than 150 leagues to the south of it without endeavouring to bring home any farther information respecting that extensive country. And as it is my wish as well as my ambition through the course of this voyage that the whole of our time should be usefully occupied in acquiring every knowledge of the distant regions we are to visit, & on considering that Captain Cook's chart of the Sandwich Islands has left me but a small field to occupie two winters in their farther examination, therefore, as the depth of winter in this hemisphere is passed over and the spring fast advancing, and likewise as when I had the honor of communicating my wishes to prosecute such an examination your Lordship seemed highly to approve of the idea, it is my intention to fall in with the S.W. Cape of New Holland, and I should find the shores capable of being navigated without much hazard, to range its coast and determine whether it and Van Diemen's Land are joined, which from all information at present

extant appears somewhat doubtfull. I should be exceeding sorry to lose this opportunity of throwing some light on the above subject, having sufficient time to do it and reach the Sandwich Islands, refresh, etc, etc, prior to proceeding on the American coast agreeable to my instructions.

I shall, however, prosecute this designe with the utmost caution, & should I find it attended with intricacy & danger, ever having the object of our voyage in view, abandon it & proceed into the Pacific Ocean.

I have taken this liberty of informing you of my intentions, judging it not unlikely that an opportunity may shortly offer of informing your Lordship how far I have been able to put them in execution. And have only to beg a few moments intrusion farther on your leisure to say—Mr. Menzies having applied to me for some spirits for the preservation of the different natural curiosities he may fall in with, I have thought proper to add to the bill some breeding sheep, garden seeds, etc, etc, which I intend as presents to the different chiefs of the Sandwich Islands. I shall likewise, as there are plenty of goats at Otaheite, which lays on my route to the northward from thence, procure a stock of those animals for the Sandwich Islands. The amount of the things purchased here being about 334 rix dollars, I have taken the liberty of drawing on the Treasury ; for which with a letter of advice have transmitted them attested Vouchers, & your Lordship's giving directions for the same to be paid will oblige him who has the honor to be etc.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Vancouver, Discovery, Simon's Bay,
Cape of Good Hope.

12 Augt. 1791.

To Philip Stephens.

SIR,—Having recruited the water and provisions of His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* and Armed Tender *Chatham* under my Command : and refreshed their Companies : You will be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that we are now getting under weigh ; & I herewith transmit, for their Lordships information, an Account of the State and Condition of both Vessels.

The ill state of health of the Boatswain of the *Discovery* having made it necessary to send him on shore to sick quarters, and not being sufficiently recovered to proceed the Voyage ; I have appointed the Boatswain of the *Chatham* to Act in his room, and

have given an Order to one of the Boatswain's mates of the *Discovery*, (Jno. Noot) to act as Boatswain of the *Chatham*.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedt.

humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

23.

Instructions for Lieutenant W. R. Broughton, Commanding His Majesty's Armed Tender *Chatham*.

It being my intention to explore, as much as possible our time will admit of, the South West side of New Holland—and as our Voyage is of that Nature and consequence, and the full execution thereof depends so materially on the two Vessels keeping Company with each other—that object is to be considered as of the first importance. I have, therefore, thought proper to inform you, in case a separation should unfortunately take place, that I purpose on our departure from hence, to fall in with that part of the aforesaid Coast, called in the Charts, Lyon's Land, or the South Cape, and range its coasts, as circumstances may admit of, and determine whether there is any passage into the Pacific Ocean in the parallel of Furneaux's Islands ; and, in case of any such discovery, I shall touch at Port Jackson to inform Governor Phillips thereof : But, in case no such passage exists, I shall proceed round Van Diemen's land to a Port towards the North East part of Maria's Islands which for distinction sake, I call Coxe's Cove (and herewith transmit you a Chart of the same) intending there to complete our wood and water ; of the former of which it will be adviseable to stow as much as possible, as wood is a very scarce commodity among the Islands in the Pacific Ocean—the whole of which I should hope will be effected, so as to leave the Coast of New Holland by the 1st of November next, at farthest—from thence I shall proceed to the Sandwich Islands, calling, on our way thither, at Matavia Bay, Otaheite, for water and refreshments ; taking care to quit that place, so as to reach Karakakooa Bay, in Owyhee ; & call at the Bay on the South West side of Woahoo, and Whymas Bay, Atowai, and quit that place by the 10th of February 1792, at farthest ; to proceed, in the execution of my instructions, for the Survey of the North West Coast of America : a Copy of which you will herewith receive,

sealed ; But which are not however to be opened until you have proceeded as herein directed, and are on the point of leaving Atowai, about the 10th of February, aforesaid ; and not the smallest probability of my joining you that season ;—You will then proceed as the Instructions and your discretion may direct, so as to cause every probability of our rejoining, during the ensuing summer, on the American Coast, or in the following winter, at the Sandwich Islands.

You will likewise receive with the beforementioned Instructions a Copy of my last letter from the Secretary of States Office ; as also, a note of arrangements I have made in consequence of the above letter. And as it is necessary that much should be left to discretion in events that are to take place at such distant periods, and situations, I have here only pointed out my intended route leaving it to the determination of your own judgment to use your utmost efforts, in case a separation should unfortunately take place ; And you are hereby required and directed, in case of parting Company, to use your utmost endeavours to rejoin me in some of the situations herein pointed out—for which this shall be your Order.

Given on board His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*, in Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope 16 Augt. 1791.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

24. *Dampier*

Dampier was born at Yeovil, Somerset, 1652. He went to sea as a boy, was the hydrographer of Newfoundland, but left legitimate work to join a band of buccaneers who crossed the Isthmus of Darien in 1679 and sacked Santa Marta and ravaged the whole coast as far as Juan Fernandez. He buccaneered in Chili, Peru, Mexico, the Phillipines, China and New Holland. He was sent by the Government to explore the South Seas and sailed over the waters later accurately charted by Vancouver off S.W. Australia. In 1697 he wrote *A Voyage Round The World*. On his last voyage Alexander Selkirk, master of one of his ships, was marooned on Juan Fernandez and inspired Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Died 1715, poor and discredited.

25. *The Bounty*

The mutiny of the *Bounty* is one of the great romances of the sea. She sailed from England in 1787 and reached Matavia the following year. Some of her crew, enamoured of Tahiti and the

allurements of the Tahitian girls, made a bid for liberty and the lotos life. Shortly before Vancouver arrived at the island, some of these mutineers had been taken aboard the *Pandora*. Nine of them, however, had made their way to an island between Australia and South America discovered in 1767 by Carteret.¹ With them they took six Tahitian men and twelve women. For the next four years this little colony seems to have lived a strange life which ended in the murder of all the English sailors, save one, Alexander Smith, who appears to have been the favourite of the women, since they next murdered all the Tahitian men. Thus Smith, who took the name of John Adams, ruled his little kingdom of women and children. He appears to have taken his responsibilities seriously and to have set about reforming himself and converting his wives and offspring to Christianity. In 1808 the American sealer *Topaz* visited the island and discovered the strange little community. In 1831 they numbered nearly a hundred and returned to Tahiti. But finding there conditions they disapproved, they returned to the island that is known to the world to-day as Pitcairn Island. To-day, this island community is paying the penalty of the crimes of the *Bounty's* crew: inter-marriage has resulted in degeneracy.

There is a reference to the fate of the *Pandora* in a letter from Menzies to Banks, of 1st of January, 1793:

'... The Natives of Otaheiti informed us of the departure of Captain Edwards in the *Pandora* with thirteen of the *Bounty's* people on board, who had separated themselves from that Vessel & taken refuge among the Inhabitants; but I am sorry to add that we have since learned of the *Pandora's* being lost in the Endeavour's Straits on her passage home.'

26.

Rules and Orders to be observed for the guidance and conduct of all persons in or belonging to, His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* and *Chatham* Armed Tender, with the natives of the different South Sea Islands.

The principal, and indeed sole, intent of the *Discovery* and *Chatham* calling at the different Islands in the Pacific Ocean being to acquire such refreshments as these Islands are found to

¹ Vancouver visited this island in October 1774. Cook, apparently, regarded it as a new discovery, for he gave it the name of Norfolk Island, in honour of the Howard family.

afford ;—And as those refreshments are purchased by Articles which Europeans esteem but of little value ;—if each individual is permitted to make such bargains as he may think proper, not only the value of these articles will be lowered in the estimation of the different Indians,—so as to entirely to subvert the aforesaid intention,—but likewise be liable, until a proper and good understanding is established between the natives of the different Islands and ourselves, to cause such disturbances as may be attended with the most fatal consequences.

Nevertheless, before the Vessels depart from each Island, a due portion of time,—circumstances admitting thereof—will be allowed for persons to provide themselves with such articles of curiosity etc as they may be able or inclined to purchase. It is however strictly enjoined that no Officer, Seaman, or other person, in those modes of Commerce with the Indians, do give such articles of value for any articles of curiosity, as may at all depreciate the value of Iron, Beads, etc, etc, hereafter.

Under these considerations, it is expected that the following rules be most punctually observed and attended to by every person in or belonging to His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* and Armed Tender *Chatham*.

First. To endeavour by every fair means to cultivate a friendship with the different Indians : and on all occasions to treat them with every possible degree of civility and humanity.

Secondly. As a proper person, or persons, will be appointed by the respective Commanders, to trade with the Indians for the different refreshments and provisions that are required, it is strictly enjoined that no Officer, Seaman, or other person, in or belonging to the said Sloop or Armed Tender,—excepting him or them so appointed,—do presume to trade, or offer to trade, for any article whatever with the Indians, unless they shall have particular leave for so doing.

Thirdly. Every person, or persons, employed on shore on any duty whatever are strictly to attend to the same. And if it should appear that by neglect any of the Arms, Working tools, boats' furniture, etc, committed to his or their charge, be lost, or suffered to be stolen, the full value of the same will be charged against his or their wages ; and likewise suffer such other punishment as the offence may deserve. And as the additional pay and emoluments allowed the different Artificers, serving in His

Majesty's Navy, is for their encouragement to perform the different occupations in their respective trades ; and in consideration of the expence they may be at in providing themselves working tools :—all the tools belonging to the different Artificers of the said Sloop and Armed Tender are, therefore, by their respective owners, to be carefully preserved, that they may be always able to perform the different duties in their respective departments : and should any one be hardy enough to fail in executing this order, he shall be disrated from his employment during the continuation of the Voyage, and suffer such other punishment as the crime may deserve.

Lastly. The same penalty will be inflicted on every person, or persons, who shall be found to embezzle, trade or offer to trade with, any part of the Ship's or boat's stores, furniture, etc, etc, be them of what nature soever.

Given on board His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[On back :

Rendezvous No. 6

— 7
— 8]

Additional Rendezvous

No. 6. Port Effingham, in Berkeley Sound

No. 7. Port Cox

No. 8. Nootka

Where having completed your wood and water, and in all respects put the Vessel under your command in a proper condition to proceed in the execution of the Service with which you are charged ; and hearing or seeing nothing of me ; you are then to proceed to the examination of the Straits said to be discovered by Juan de Fuca ; extending the said examination first along the Southern side of the said Straits : and having satisfied yourself respecting their situation, extent, etc, and still hearing or seeing nothing of me, you are then to proceed for the good of His Majesty's service and intentions, agreeable to former instructions.

Dated on board His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*, at sea, the 24th of February 1792.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

To Lieut. W. R. Broughton Commanding His Majesty's Armed Tender *Chatham*.

27. *The Hydrographic Survey of the North-West Coast of British North America, from the Earliest Discoveries to the Present Time*

CLASSES OF SURVEYS: DISCOVERY; EXPLORATION; PRELIMINARY; MODERN OR DETAIL			
16th Century	By Commissioners Officers	Spanish	<p>1774 Sir Francis Drake—<i>Golden Hind</i>, 1779</p> <p>1775 Apostolos Valerianos, known as Juan de Fuca, 1592</p> <p>Don Juan de Ayala—schooner <i>Sonora</i></p> <p>Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra—a packet</p> <p>Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle, 1st pilot and historian</p> <p>Don Ignacio Arteaga—frigate <i>Princesa</i></p> <p>Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra—frigate <i>Querida</i></p> <p>Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle, 1st lieutenant and historian</p> <p>Captain James Cook—<i>Resolution</i></p> <p>Commander Charles Clerke—<i>Discovery</i></p> <p>Captain Jean Francois de la Perouse—<i>La Bonasole</i></p> <p>Captain de Langle—<i>L' Astrolabe</i></p> <p>Captain James Hanna—small brig <i>Sea Otter</i>—Sea Otter Cove; Virgin and Pearl Rocks; Smith and Fitzhugh Sounds</p> <p>Captain Nathaniel Portlock—<i>King George</i>—Southern Alaska</p> <p>Captain George Dixon—<i>Queen Charlotte</i>—Queen Charlotte Islands</p>
			<p>1785 Captain Charles William Barkley—<i>Imperial Eagle</i>—Barkley Sound and Juan de Fuca Strait</p> <p>1787 Captain Charles Duncan—<i>Princess Royal</i>—Juan de Fuca; Milbanke; Port Stephens</p> <p>1787 Captain Gray—<i>Lady Washington</i> and <i>Columbia</i>—Columbia River</p> <p>1788 Don Estevan Jose Martinez—<i>La Princesa</i></p> <p>1790 Don Gonzales Lopez de Haro—<i>San Carlos</i></p> <p>Don Salvador Fidalgo—<i>San Carlos</i></p> <p>Don Manuel Quimper—<i>Princess Real</i></p> <p>Don Francisco Elliza—<i>San Carlos</i></p> <p>Don Jose Maria Narvaez—<i>Saturnina</i></p> <p>Don Jacinto Caamano—<i>Aranza</i></p> <p>Don Dionisio Alcala Galiano—<i>Sutil</i></p> <p>Don Gayetano Valdes—<i>Mexicana</i></p> <p>1791 Captain Etienne Marchand—<i>Solide</i></p> <p>1791 Captain Chanal, second in command and hydrographer</p> <p>1792 Captain George Vancouver—<i>Discovery</i></p> <p>1792-94 Lieut. William Robert Broughton—<i>Chatham</i></p>
18th Century	By Trading Officers	Spanish	<p>1787 Don Gonzales Lopez de Haro—<i>San Carlos</i></p> <p>1788 Don Salvador Fidalgo—<i>San Carlos</i></p> <p>1790 Don Manuel Quimper—<i>Princess Real</i></p> <p>1791 Don Francisco Elliza—<i>San Carlos</i></p> <p>1791 Don Jose Maria Narvaez—<i>Saturnina</i></p> <p>1792 Don Jacinto Caamano—<i>Aranza</i></p> <p>1792 Don Dionisio Alcala Galiano—<i>Sutil</i></p> <p>1792 Don Gayetano Valdes—<i>Mexicana</i></p> <p>1791 Captain Etienne Marchand—<i>Solide</i></p> <p>1792 Captain Chanal, second in command and hydrographer</p> <p>1792-94 Captain George Vancouver—<i>Discovery</i></p> <p>1792-94 Lieut. William Robert Broughton—<i>Chatham</i></p>
			<p>1791 Captain Etienne Marchand—<i>Solide</i></p> <p>1792 Captain Chanal, second in command and hydrographer</p> <p>1792-94 Captain George Vancouver—<i>Discovery</i></p> <p>1792-94 Lieut. William Robert Broughton—<i>Chatham</i></p>

28. *Samuel Purchas*

Samuel Purchas was born at Thraxted, Essex, in 1577, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He resigned the living of Eastwood, became Rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, London, died in 1626, penniless. He is the author of *Purchas, His Pilgrimage; or, Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages*, and of *Hakluytus post humus; or, Purchase His Pilgrims: containing a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and Land Travels by Englishmen and others*. In this latter work, Purchas tells the story of Juan de Fuca.

29. *Sir Harry Burrard (Neale)*

Sir Harry Burrard, in whose honour Vancouver named Burrard's Channel, was born 1765, entered the Navy 1778. He was present at the reduction of Charleston in April 1780; thereafter serving in the *Chatham* and *Perseverance* as acting lieutenant. As lieutenant he served in the *Expedition*, the *Southampton* and the *Victory*, Lord Hood's flagship. He came into prominence during the great mutiny at the Nore, when his crew refused to mutiny and was attacked by the mutineers. Later Neale commanded the royal yacht; in 1804 he was at the Admiralty; the next year he commanded a squadron and captured the French ships *Maringo* and *Bellepoule*. Rear-Admiral 1810, Vice-Admiral 1814, Admiral 1830. Died 15th February, 1840.

30. *Letter from Count Florida Blanca. (Translated from the Spanish)*

In conformity to the first article of the convention of 28th October, 1790, between our Court and that of London (printed copies of which you will have already received, and of which another copy is here enclosed, in case the first have not come to hand) you will give directions that His Britannic Majesty's officer, who will deliver this letter, shall immediately be put in possession of the buildings and districts, or parcels of land, which were occupied by the subjects of that sovereign in April 1789, as well in the port of Nootka, or of Saint Lawrence, as in the other, said to be called Port Cox, and to be situated about sixteen leagues distant from the former to the southward; and that such parcels or districts of land, of which the English subjects were dispossessed, be restored to the said officer, in case the Spaniards should not have given them up.

You will also give orders that, if any individual in the service of British subjects, whether a Chinese or any other nations, should have been carried away and detained in those parts, such person shall be immediately delivered up to the above-mentioned officer.

I also communicate all this to the Viceroy of New Spain by His Majesty's command, and by the royal command I charge you with the most punctual and precise execution of this order.

May God preserve you many years.

(Signed)

THE COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA.

Aranjuez, 12th May, 1791.

To the Governor or Commander of the port at St. Lawrence.

31. *Duffin*, 21 September, 1792, to *Vancouver*

To Captn Geor Vancouver,
Commander of His Britannic Majesty's
Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*,
Now laying in Friendly Cove,
King George's Sound.

SIR,—Whereas different reports have been propagated relative to what right Mr. Meares had for taking possession of the Land in Friendly Cove ; Nootka Sound. I shall here state, with that Candour, and Veracity, which has always influenced me on such occasions, an impartial account of Mr. Meares proceedings in the above Port.

Toward the close of the year 1787 a commercial Expedition was undertaken by John Henry Cox Esqr And Coy Merchants then residing at Macao. Who accordingly Fitted, and Equiped two ships for the Fur Trade ; on the North West Coast of America. The management of this Expedition was reposed in John Meares Esqr as commander in chief, and sole conductor of the voyage, and who was likewise one of the Merchant Proprietors. These Vessells were equiped under Portuguese Colours ; with a view to mitigate those heavy port charges ; imposed on Ships of every Nation (the Portuguese only excepted) which circumstance is well known to all commercial gentlemen, trading to that part of the World ; under these circumstances ; the said Vessells were fitted out in the Name, and under the Firm of John Cavallo Esqr a Portuguese Merchant ; then residing at Macao. He had

no property in them whatsoever. Both their Cargoes, being entirely British property and the vessells navigated ; solely, by the subjects of His Britannic Majesty.

On our arrival, the first time ; in the above Port, in Nootka Sound, which was in May 1788. the Two Chiefs Maquilla ; and Calicum ; were absent. On their return which was either on the 17th, or 18th, of the same month. Mr. Meares, accompanied by myself, and Mr. Robt. Funter our 2d officer ; went on shore ; and treated with the said Chiefs, for the whole of the land that form Friendly Cove in His Britanic Majesty's name. He accordingly bought it of them ; for 8, or 10, sheets of Copper ; and several other trifling articles. The Natives were fully satisfied with their agreement. The Chiefs, and likewise their people did homage to Mr. Meares, as their sovereign, using those formalities that are peculiar to themselves and which Mr. Meares has made mention of in his publication.

The British Flag, was displayed on shore at the same time, and those formalities were used, as is customary on such occasions (and not the Portuguese Flag ; as has been insinuated, by several people, who were not present at the time, consequently they advanced those assertions without a foundation).

On our taking possession of the Cove, in His Britanic Majesty's name, as before mentioned, Mr. Meares caused a house to be erected ; on the very spot, where the *Chathams* Tent is at present, it being the most convenient part of the cove for our intentions. The Chiefs, with their subjects, offered to quit the Cove intirely, and reside at a place called Tashees, and leave the place to our selves ; as intire masters, and Owners, of the Whole Cove ; and lands adjacent, consequently we were not confined merely to that spot ; but had full liberty to erect a House in any other part of the Cove but chose the spot we did for the above-mentioned reason.

Mr. Meares appointed, Mr. Robert Funter ; to reside in the house which consisted of three Chambers for the Officers, and proper apartments for the men ; likewise a mess-room, the said apartments, were elevated about five feet from the ground ; and under these were apartments for keeping our stores in ; exclusive of those ; were sheds and outhouses built for the convenience of the Artificers to work in—On Mr. Meares departure, the House was left in good condition, and he enjoined Maquilla, to take

care of it untill his return or any of his associates on the coast again.

It has been reported, that on the arrival of Don José Esteven Martinez, in the Cove, there was not the least vestige of the House remaining, however that might be ; I cannot say, as I was not at Nootka at the time.

On our return in July 1789, in the said Cove ; we found it occupied by the Subjects of His Catholick Majesty, there was likewise some people belonging to the Ship *Columbia* ; commanded by Mr. John Kendrick under the Flag, and protection, of the United States of America, had their Tents and out houses erected on the same spot where our house formerly stood, but I saw no remains of our former architecture.

We found laying at anchor ; in the said Cove, His Catholick Majesty's Ships ; *Princessa* and *San Carlos*, likewise the ship *Columbia*, and Sloop *Washington*, and the second day after our arrival in the *Argonaut* we were captured by Don Jose Estn Martinez. The Americans, were suffered to carry on their commerce with the natives unmolested.

This Sir is the Best information I can give you ; that might tend, to elucidate the propriety of Mr. Meare's taking possession of the Village of Nootka, and Friendly Cove.

Should any one whatever ; doubt the truth of this Protest ; I am always ready to attest it before any court of Judicature ; or any one Person, duely Authorised to Examine me.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest esteem—

Sir

Your most Obedient
and very Hume Servant.

ROBT DUFFIN.

[Under this in Vancouver's own handwriting :

That the above was the Identical truth was sworn before me this 21st day of September, 1792.

GEO. VANCOUVER.]

By George Vancouver Esqr Commander of His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*, &c.

Mr. Alexr Purvis Cranstoun, late Master Surgeon of His Majest's Sloop the *Discovery*, having been regularly Surveyed, and in consequence thereof invalided. You are therefore hereby

required and directed to repair forthwith on board the said Sloop and take upon you the charge and employment of Master Surgeon in her accordingly, (In the room of the said Mr Alexr Purvis Cranstoun) until further order. For which this shall be your order.

Given on Board His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*
in Nootka Sound the 9th of September 1792.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

To—

Mr Archibald Menzies, hereby appointed
to Act as Master Surgeon of His
Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*, until further order.

Vancouver : Discovery, Monterrey.

13 Jan'y 1793.

To Philip Stephens Esq.

'Rc 16 July 1793.'

SIR,—You will do me the honor of communicating to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that in consequence of the progress I have made in executing with their lordships' orders transmitted to me, I have for their Lordships' information transmitted a copy of my Journal, from our departure from Falmouth to the end of the late year ; which is accompanied by the Charts and drawings mentioned in the inclosed lists ; the information the whole is capable of communicating I have considered to be of that nature as to require their being instructed to the charge of a careful diligent and attentive Officer ; particularly under the consideration of the extent of land carriage, etc, they must pass through by the route they are intended to take, being through New Spain to Cadiz or Ferrol ; and for many essential reasons I have been induced to entrust this charge to the care and execution of Lieut Broughton, Commander of the *Chatham* Armed Tender ; who, being an Officer of considerable abilities and observation, will be able to communicate many judicious remarks for the information of their Lordships, and whose zealous assiduity whilst under my command has been too conspicuous to pass unnoticed, and flatters me with hopes that his well executing the service now entrusted to his charge will be the means of recommending him to their Lordships further protection and favor. On this occasion I have not superceded Lieut Broughton in the command of the *Chatham*, but have appointed my first lieutenant,

Mr Puget, to take upon him that charge, during Lieut Broughton's absence, or until their Lordships' pleasure shall be known. I likewise beg leave to inform their Lordships that should it be judged expedient for one of His Majesty's Vessels to be dispatched with further directions for the guidance of my conduct, etc, I know no person more capable of being so entrusted, or whom I would sooner wish to assist me in executing such service as their Lordships may think proper to direct than Lieut Broughton; in which case Lieut Puget will likewise be a very proper person to continue in the command of the *Chatham*.

Their Lordships will observe that in the conclusion of my Journal I mention my calculations, charts, etc, requiring some farther time to be finally executed; these were accomplished on the 7th inst, since which period I have been detained here in consequence of the desertion of the Armourer of the *Chatham*, and one of her Marines; the former from his use and ability being the greatest loss we could sustain in any one man, and the latter, one of her best marines: this after remaining so long and all our endeavours to recover them proving abortive, I am under the necessity of sailing without them, which I shall do this evening with the landwind directing our course to the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of carrying their Lordships' orders into execution, by their farther examination; though from every information I can acquire from the numerous mercantile people who have visited these Islands, as also from the natives themselves, they do not afford any harbour, or any other anchorage than very open roads. From thence I shall proceed to the carrying on the Survey of the American Coast, calling at Nootka in my way; and having extended our examination to the end of the ensuing season, I shall return to Nootka and from thence to finish the examination of this coast Southward: when I shall call at the Port of Sn Diego, to which place their Lordships may probably have sufficient time to forward any orders and directions they may wish to transmit for my putting into execution: from whence having concluded the Survey to the Southward, provided the season is not too far advanced, it is my intentions during the remainder of the ensuing winter, to visit the Hergest as well as the Sandwich Islands, prior to my returning to Nootka in my route to the North, in order to finish the survey of the continent

of America to the limits directed ; being firmly of opinion that from its insulated appearance, it will not be in our power finally to accomplish that service during the ensuing summer.

I have thought proper thus to communicate my intentions for their Lordships' information which will be so accordingly put into execution provided I receive no order to the contrary, or other material circumstance occur to prevent the service intrusted to my charge being so executed. I enclose for their Lordships' further information an Account of the state and condition of His Majesty's Vessels under my command ; and have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedt humble Servt

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[With this despatch Vancouver enclosed fifty eight views and charts, one of which is reproduced on page 98.]

Vancouver : Discovery, Monterrey.

Dec. 29, 1792.

To Philip Stephens.

'Rec. 16 July 1793.'

SIR,—The general inattention of Mr. Henry Phillips, Carpenter of His Majesty's Sloop under my command, to the duties of his employment ; his neglect of the stores committed to his charge ; and his contemptuous behaviour to myself and the Officers of the *Discovery*, has frequently given me cause for serious complaint in the course of the Voyage ; and particularly on the 19th of March 1792 ; when having occasion to find fault with him for disobeying my orders, he behaved to me with so much insolence, contempt, and disrespect, that I judged it necessary to suspend him from his employment ; and have therefore ordered him on board the *Dædalus* Transport, bound to New South Wales, to be conveyed from thence to England as a prisoner, in order to be tried by a Court Martial for the same, whenever circumstances may admit thereof, and their Lordships shall be pleased to give directions for that purpose.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedt and
very humble Servant.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[In Manby's log is the following entry :

Tuesday, March 20th

' . . . confined Mr. Henry Phillips for disobedience of Orders, Insolence and disrespect to Capt Vancouver on the Quarter Deck . . .]

35.

Vancouver : Discovery, Monterrey.

Jan. 7th. 1793.

To Evan Nepean, Whitehall.

DEAR SIR,—In addition to the mortification I experienced at Nootka in the unhappy and unaccountable accident which occasioned the loss of my much esteemed and very worthy friend Hurgest who I believe you knew and were acquainted with. I felt no small degree of disappointment in not receiving a single line either officially or privately from your Office or from yourself.

I have notwithstanding taken the liberty of intruding on your leisure a few lines pointing out some particulars which have not exactly found a place either in my private letter to My Lord Chatham or in that to My Lord Grenville though both in these letters and in my journal they are in some measure pointed out as having been the cause of placing me in a very embarrassed situation respecting such of my transactions as have taken place at Nootka. These transactions however I do not consider as requiring a place in this letter supposing that not only them but my journal, charts, drawings etc. which from our departure from Falmouth to this period, I have transmitted to the Admiralty by the same conveyance which forwards you this letter will be open to your inspection.

You will then my good Sir observe in my original instructions dated March ye 8th 1791.

' that the Buildings and tracts of land situated on the N.W. coast above mentioned (i.e. America) or on the Islands adjacent thereunto of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month April 1789 by a Spanish Officer shall be restored to the said British subjects, The Court of Spain has agreed to send orders for that purpose to its Officer in that part of the world. But as the particular specification of the parts to be restored may still require some further time ; it is intended

that the Kings Orders for this purpose should be sent out to the Sandwich Islands by the Vessel employed etc. etc.'

Your own letter to me dated Whitehall 17 March 1791 likewise informs me thus

'His Lordship (Ld Grenville) has directed me to acquaint you that it is conceived to be material that the Vessel intended to follow you with stores & provisions should leave England in the course of the present season in order to carry out to you directions which it may be necessary to give on the subject of the restitution of Nootka and any other buildings or tracts of Land on the N.W. Coast of America, which may be to be restored to His Majesty's Subjects in consequence of the late Convention.'

I shall now refer to the only order I received on that subject by the said Vessel being the *Dædalus* Transport and are as follow

'and whereas you will receive here with a duplicate of a letter of the Count Florida Blanco to the Spanish Officer commanding at Nootka (together with a translation there of) signifying His Catholic Majesty's orders to cause such Officer as may be appointed on the part of His Britannic Majesty to be put into possession of the Buildings and Districts or Pardes [?] of Land therein described which were occupied by His Majesty's Subjects in the month of April 1789 agreeable to the first article of the late Convention etc. etc.'

Which description states thus

'You will give directions that His Britannick Majestys Officer who will deliver this letter shall immediately be put into possession of the Buildings and Districts or pardes [?] of Land which were occupied by the subjects of that Sovereign in April 1789 as well in the Port of Nootka or of St. Lawrence as in the other said to be called Port Cox and to be situated about sixteen Leagues distant from the former to the Southward and that all such parcels or Districts of Land of which the English Subjects were dispossessed be restored to the said officer etc etc.'

Now from the above quotations there cannot possibly appear any distinct or clear specifications of the Parts to be restored and what I have considered and understand as the Buildings, districts or parcels of Land which were occupied etc. etc. as *well in the* Port of Nootka or of St. Lawrence as *in the* other said to be called Port Cox. etc etc. is the whole and *in toto* the Lands and itories ['territories' perhaps] appertaining to the above Ports and not a

small chasm in the rocky shores of the spacious Port of Nootka ; *which chasm not a hundred yards in extent in any one direction* being the exact space which the house and brest work [?] of Mr. Mears occupied can this chasm possibly be considered as the districts or parcels of Land etc. intended to be ceded to me on the part of His Britannic Majesty. Now there can be little doubt I should either proved myself a most consummate fool or a traitor to have acceded to any such cession without positive directions to that effect.

The different opinion however prevailed with Senr Quadra who from the words of the letter, of the Count of Florida-Blanca's has considered himself only authorised and directed to cede that small pittance of rocks and sandy beach such being the only space *in* the Port of Nootka the English occupied in April 1789, the arguments by each side on this subject are justly represented in my journal and its appendix therefore as I have already observed requires no repetition here.

It therefore now becomes necessary to point out the motives of this discussion which I intend should convey such information as will point out to you the embarrassment I have laboured under in the whole of my transactions at Nootka not only in respect to the cession of that territory, but likewise had such cession been made agreeable to what I had conceived honorable and just ; *I was still left totally in the dark what measures to pursue.* You may answer I was directed to be put in possession on the part of His Britannic Majesty the affore said territories I grant that to be the case but what were to become of those territories here after, I was likewise by the same instructions directed to prosecute a voyage of investigation in this Ocean, with out receiving any instructions to pursue the one and abandon the other ; had Nootka been put into my possession I certainly ought to have been informed if it were to be retained in possession or evacuated in order to pursue such as might be considered the most important object of His Majesty's Service intrusted to my charge and execution, if therefore it were necessary to return Nootka both or at least one of the Vessels were absolutely necessary to have remained there for that particular purpose which as it will appear in my journal I had in the first instance deemed expedient & directed matters to be so arranged.

How far my conduct might have been approved of in such retention or on the other hand in its evacuation as likewise

leaving that port under the protection of the *Chatbam* only ; when such extensive commerce was evidently carrying on principally through that Port, from it being the general rendezvouse of the Vessels of all nations employed in their mercantile pursuits on that Coast ; without remaining there myself ; I am perfectly at a loss to guess, nor can I possibly say which of those two expedients would have proved the least liable of censure that in all probability would have depended on the necessity of the times or the success with which the adopted one would have been attended.

Directions for regulating my conduct in respect to such transactions I had doubtless every right to expect and buoyed up with every hope of receiving both from my original instructions & your official letter of the 17 of March 1791. You my good Sir may easily figure to yourself the disappointment I experienced at finding nothing to that effect on joining the *Dædalus* at Nootka.

The Measures in consequence thereof which I have judged most prudent to pursue have been such as my own common understanding dictated as most compatable with honor and the Duty and allegiance I owe to my Sovereign and my country whose approbation should such conduct meet ; will make me one of the happiest of men and this explanatory letter by such event be rendered entirely unnecessary. But should I be that unfortunate man to be deemed deserving of censure in executing those transaction under the above circumstances, you will I hope excuse the liberty I have taken in thus intruding on your goodness this letter as a kind of superficial indication of my conduct, though I cannot but be thoroughly convinced that I have no authority to intrude such business either on your friendship or your leisure.

Nevertheless I have been induced to write you this letter under the consideration of my instructions origonating in the office under your inspection and in consequence of your kind offer before I left England to render me such services particularly in point of representation that I might require and in the power of your official capacity to execute.

Lastly then I beg leave to observe that the contents of this letter is not intended to be communicated excepting my conduct should fall under that sensure as to require vindication as is here pointed out, under which circumstances if you will then do me the kindness to produce it ; it may probably be essentially serviceable, and

untill that period shall arrive I neither wish or consider it prudent to make such representations to Persons in the more elevated seats of office.

It now remains to solicit your forgiveness for assuming this liberty, and to request your acceptance of my sincerest wished for every well fare and felicity heaven can bestow on yourself Mrs. Nepean and family which will highly oblige.

Dear Sir,

your most obedient and
devoted humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

P.S.—*Janry ye 18th* at Sea.

If I mistake not I had the pleasure of meeting you one day at My Lord Grenvilles in company of a very intimate friend of mine Mr. John King if he has the honor of your acquaintance you will do me a further kindness to inform. I am well and nothing but being very hard prest for time prevented my writing to him.

Nor can I at last avoid saying that the conduct of Mr. T. Pit has been too bad for me to represent in any one respect.

36. *Capt. Vancouver to Gov. Phillip*

Discovery, at Sea, 15th Octs. 1792.

SIR,—Agreeable to the order and directions transmitted to me from My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I herewith dispatch the *Dadalus*, hired transport, under the command of Lieutenant James Hanson, by whom your excellency will receive this, & who is directed to put himself under your command and to follow your orders for his farther proceedings.

You will also herewith receive a list of the remaining part of the said transport's cargo, which his Majesty's ship *Discovery* and armed tender the *Chatham*, under my command, have not in the present instance been able to take on board; as likewise a list of such part of the said cargo as under the present circumstances I do not deem essential to me in putting into execution his Majesty's commands entrusted to my care. The remaining part is, however, absolutely necessary for that purpose, and, agreeable to their Lordships' directions, I am to request your Excellency will cause the same to be forwarded to my address, and to arrive at the port of Nootka about the month of August following, where, on my return from pursuing my examination of the coast of N.W.

America, I shall call in order to take the said stores and provisions on board. We are now on our passage to some of the Spanish ports on the south part of the coast of New Albion, where I intend putting on board the *Dædalus*, for the use of his Majesty's colony under your Excellency's government, so many breeding cattle and sheep as she can conveniently take, which breed, inur'd to countries but slightly cultivated, have at Nootka succeeded to a very high degree with scarce the smallest care and attention. I therefore trust they will be found useful in New South Wales. Lieutenant Hanson, as you will observe by his order, has likewise directions to pay attention to lose no opportunity of procuring such live stock & refreshments as may be useful at Port Jackson, from the different places he may fall in with during his passage across the Pacific Ocean.

And as there is a probability on my arrival with the storeships at some of the Spanish ports aforesaid I may find it convenient to take on board some further supply of provisions, I beg leave to inform your excellency that in that case it will be necessary for the deficiency so occasioned to be made up, as likewise any that may be caused by leakage, decay, or other unforeseen accidents, that quantity being absolutely necessary to enable me to perform that part of my orders which still remain unexecuted.

Lieutenant Hanson will, I trust, be able to satisfy your Excellency's curiosity respecting the general proceedings of our voyage, so far as it is at present extended; under which circumstances I shall not intrude on your leisure further than observing that we fell in with the coast of New Albion on the 17th of April, and passed Cape Mendocino in lat $40^{\circ} 28\frac{1}{2}'$ N. and $235^{\circ} 50'$ E., longitude; from whence we traced the shores at the distance of one, two, or three leagues, circumstances so concerning, without finding any port or opening in the land until we reached, on the 29th of April, the south entrance of De Fuca's Straits situate in $48^{\circ} 23'$ N. lat & $235^{\circ} 38'$ E. long; which inlet we pursued up several arms of the sea, determining the extent of each, and keeping the continental shore always in boats, as far east as the long $238^{\circ} 0' 2''$, in the lat. of $48^{\circ} 0' 0''$ N., from which station we coasted the continent in an irregular N.-westerly direction to the lat. $51^{\circ} 45'$ N. & $232^{\circ} 0' 4''$ E. long., when it again winds to the eastward to the long. of $235^{\circ} 0' 5''$, in the lat. $52^{\circ} 15'$ N., which station ended our present northern campaign, on the 18th of

August and where we shall recommence an examination in the ensuing spring. The direction of the continent here pointed out leaves the land in which Nootka is situated, an island, or rather a cluster of islands, of considerable extent, caused by the junction of Queen Charlotte's Sound & De Fuca's entrance, not very badly delineated in Arrowsmith's charts, leaving a very disagreeable and intricate navigation between them and the continent.

On my passage into this ocean I visited a small part of the S.W. coast of New Holland, and there discovered one very excellent port, which I have honored with the name of King George the Third's Sound. As I think from its situation, the fertility of the country, with Oyster Bay Harbour, sea, etc., it may be worthy some further attention. I have sent you my survey thereof with the adjacent coast, and some views of the surrounding country, which, though not executed with any degree of neatness, the positions of the different harbours, etc, as also the different headlands, etc, as also their appearance [are given], without, I believe, any material error. We likewise, made two other discoveries, which, belonging to your neighbourhood, I shall beg leave to communicate, the first being a very dangerous cluster of barren rocks, being seven in number, extending in a direction in a direction about N. 70' E. & S. 70' W. true, occupying the space of about three leagues, which, from their situation, I have called the Snares; the largest, which is the N.-easternmost, and about a league in circumference, in the lat 48° 03' S. and 166° 20' E. longitude, bearing from S. Cape of New Zealand S. 40' W. true, 19 leagues distant, and from the southernmost part of the Traps S. 62½' W. true, 20 leagues distant; the largest, which is the highest, may be seen in clear weather about 8 or 9 leagues the other is an island discovered by the *Chatham*, after being separated from us the morning we discovered the Snares, by a very violent storm, and which, in honor of His Lordship who presides at the Admiralty Board, obtained the name of Chatham Island; along the N. side of which he sailed about 12 leagues; it is situated in lat 43° 48' S. and 183° 02' E. long., its inhabitants much resembling the indians of New Zealand, who were found on the N. side, which was the only part they saw, and where they anchored and took possession, they, however, discovered no port.

Knowing of no other information that can be worthy your present attention, I beg leave to assure you I have the honor to be

with best wishes for your welfare, and that of his Majesty's colony under your Excellency's government.

Yours etc.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

36a. *Capt. Vancouver to Gov. Phillip*

Discovery, Monterrey, 29 Dec. 1792.

SIR,—Since writing my letter, dated 15th Oct'r, which accompanies this, we have experienced a very tempestuous and boisterous passage to this place, which we reached about a month ago ; and agreeable to my intentions as stated in that letter, I have taken on board the *Discovery* & *Chatham* a very considerable quantity of the stores and provisions which remained in the *Dædalus* on our departure from Nootka ; the whole of which I had requested should be returned to me ; that, however, in consequence of having made a material alteration in my engagement since that period, is by no means sufficient for the purpose of executing the remaining part of his Majesty's service entrusted to my care. I have, therefore in addition to the above mentioned remaining stores and provisions, sent your Excellency a list of such as will be necessary to complete our stock for the time I conceive we must yet be employed in prosecuting that part of my order which still remains unexecuted.

The lateness of my despatching the *Dædalus*, occasioned by adverse winds, etc, will, I fear prevent the returning of those stores and provisions, as I have before requested, by the month of August following ; it may, however, so happen that I may not quit Nootka before September or probably late in that month ; it will, therefore, be proper that the vessel so charged should be despatched as soon as possible for the purpose of meeting me at that place ; but should I sail from Nootka before that should happen, I shall leave sufficient instructions for the guidance of the officer commanding such vessel and in that case there is a probability of his arriving very late on the coast, it would be necessary he should call at the Sandwich Islands, where, though we should not meet, there is yet a great probability of gaining some information respecting us. The other object of the *Dædalus* accompanying me to this post, I have likewise been able to accomplish to my satisfaction by putting on board 12 cows and 6 bulls, with an equal number of male and female sheep ; these are at present in good condition, in which state, I trust, they will arrive safe,

and prove highly serviceable to his Majesty's colony under your Excellency's government.

The *Dædalus*, from accident and desertion, being short of complement, Sr. Quadra has made a promise of using his efforts to prevail on some of the people under his command to undertake this voyage in the *Dædalus*, on my promise that they should be returned to Nootka by that vessel or such other as may be charged with the before-mentioned stores and provisions for the use of his Majesty's vessels under my command, to which conditions I have acceded and taken the liberty of asserting that your excellency would cause the same to be put in execution, and by complying with this further request, should such a circumstance take place, you will highly oblige him who has the honor, with the most sincere wishes for the welfare of yourself and his Majesty's colony under your Excellency's government,

Yours etc.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

P.S.—I have been under the necessity, much against my wishes and inclinations, of discharging Mr. Willan House, late boatswain of the *Discovery*, who, whilst in that situation, so far as his abilities enabled him to act, conducted himself as a sober, diligent officer, having been afflicted with a violent rheumatic complaint which rendered him incapable of performing that service for many months past. I therefore beg leave to recommend him to your Excellency's notice, together with the three valuable seamen and one marine whom I have been under the disagreeable necessity of parting with for similar reasons, who equally deserve every clemency and attention the nature of his Majesty's service will admit of. These people I have thus discharged, because we have not the power of affording them relief, and the service we have yet to perform being of a long and arduous nature. I am in hopes of its being shortly in your Excellency's power of providing them a passage to England, in which case I trust they will find relief from the severe maladies under which they at present labor.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

37.

Vancouver : London.

To Philip Stephens.

Feb. 17th 1791.

SIR,—There is a very fine young man at Christs Hospital, recommended to me by Mr Wales ; who I think will be of great

use both as a draughtsman, and a calculator ; and as there is not a moment to be lost in getting him ordered from the School, I shall esteem it as a particular favor, if you can send this evening a line to the Treasurer of Christs Hospital to that effect; as that will enable me to get him out of the School on Saturday next otherwise it cannot be effected before Saturday Sennet, before which period I shall in all probability have left Town.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most Obedient

Humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

N.B.—The young lads name is Edw. Roberts.

[Minute—‘ Send him ’—‘ usual Letter to the Treasr.’]

The case of Edwin Roberts is typical of Vancouver’s watchfulness over the careers of his young officers. In 1797 Vancouver was living in retirement at Petersham, Surrey, and already the illness which proved fatal the following year rendered every physical act painful.

At this time he was labouring, with the help of his brother John, to complete his *Voyage of Discovery*, his devoted brother acting as amanuensis. In a letter dated 15th March, 1797, to James Sykes, Arundel Street, Strand, there is this postscript :

‘ I this morning received a very favourable answer from Lord Spencer in reply to an application I made on Monday last in favour of Robert’s promotion, wherein his Lordship says : “ he shall be glad to take an early opportunity of giving Mr. Roberts a commission.” ’

38.

Vancouver : Discovery, Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound.

22nd May 1793.

To Philip Stephens, Esq.

SIR,—You will do me the favor of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that since I had the honor of transmitting, for their Lordships’ information, under the charge of Lieutenant William R. Broughton a copy of my Journal of the proceedings of His Majesty’s Vessels under my command accompanied with the Charts, Drawings, etc. that have been made to the end of the year 1792 ; nothing very material has occurred.

From the coast of California, we directed our route to the Sandwich Islands ; and in our way thither, carefully searched for some Islands, which are laid down in the charts, said to be from Spanish authority, between the parallels of 19° and 21° N lat : and the meridians of 220° , and 225° E longde ; but to no effect ; and hence I conclude, no such Islands exist.

On the 12th of February we reached the Sandwich Islands ; and contined among them until the 29th of March ; during which time we examined most of their Shores ; excepting the North sides of Mowee, Waahoo, and Attowai, and a small part of the coast near the S.W. point of Owyhee ; these we were prevented examining by adverse winds, currents, etc, without finding a more secure place of anchorage than Karakakooa ; and the only other situation which approaches near to it in goodness, being at the west part of Mowee, where is a small bay ,which may probably be found more convenient, from the abundance of fresh water existing in its neighbourhood.

Between the N.E. and Et points of Owhyhee we are informed by the natives, as also by two British seaman who are residing with Tamaah Maah, the King of that Island, that there is an excellent Bay or harbour. This when we were off that part of the coast, did not entirely escape our notice ; but the wind at that time, blowing very strong, directly on the shore, with unsettled weather ; and though we brought to for some time, none of the natives visiting us (a circumstance very contrary to what I had before been accustomed, on my former visits) I did not think it prudent to venture nearer with the ship, or send a boat to examine that part of the shore, until I should be able to form some judgment how the inhabitants of that Island should be disposed towards us. The sequel proved that friendship and hospitality actuated and guided the whole of the conduct of the Chiefs and people of those Islands, and that any apprehensions to the contrary were totally ill grounded.

In attempting to add to the refreshments those Islands are naturally found to afford, I was unfortunate in losing two cows, and the two bulls ; the five remaining cows and a breed of sheep were left with Tamaah Maah, who, with the rest of the chiefs of that Island, I have appointed to meet next winter off the above bay or harbour, for the purpose of ascertaining its properties, which they represent as sheltered and easy of access and egress ; not

only being clear of shoals, but from the winds being favourable to that effect.

I enquired into the unfortunate event of the death of Lieut. Hergest, and Mr. Gooch the Astronomer, and have every reason to believe the Chiefs and principal people of the Islands were totally ignorant of the murder, who delivered up three of the principal Offenders, and desired they might be put to death, for that murder, alongside of the ship, in the presence of the natives of the country, as an example, in order to restrain them from future acts of such barbarity ; which business was accordingly executed by one of their principal chiefs, alongside the *Discovery* in Whyteete Roadstead, Woahoo.

Their Lordships will observe that on our departure from this port, in October last, mention is made of the *Chatham's* getting on shore ; and at the Sandwich Islands it was discovered that a considerable quantity of Copper was off her bottom ; she was therefore on the 16th of March last, dispatched from our anchorage, at the west end of Mowee, in order to repair that, or such other damages as she might be found to have sustained.

The *Chatham* arrived here the 15th day of April and found it necessary to heave down, both sides out ; in the execution of which service, the hospitable civilities, and attentive services shown them on the part of Sr Fidalgo, the Spanish commanding Officer of this port, was of the utmost importance to their situation, and deserving the highest commendation. This business they nearly completed by the 15th of this month ; which was the time appointed for Lieutt Pugets waiting my arrival, and then to follow such instructions as I had given him, to proceed in the examination of the continental shores of N.W. America, in case of my not joining him by that period : on which service they accordingly sailed on the 18th of this month ; and we had not the good fortune to arrive here before the 20th, after experiencing a disagreeable and tedious passage of fifty-two days from the Sandwich Islands.

On the 2d of May, being off that part of the coast of New Albion, according to the Translation of the Journal of Don Francisco Maurelle, published by the Honorable Daine [s?] Barrington, (which in my former visit to this coast I was unacquainted with) stating that an eligible port existed, named, Puerto de la Trinidad, and the adverse winds which for some

time had existed, still prevailing, I anchored there for the purpose of examining its properties, and complete our wood and waters. We found it nothing more than a very open and exposed small bay ; which we quitted on the 5th. in the morning ; since which period we were prevented by adverse winds, etc., reaching this station, before the time already mentioned ; which it is my intention of quitting this night, or tomorrow morning, winds and weather permitting.

Herewith is enclosed for their Lordships' information the state and condition of His Majesty's Sloop under my command.

In the autumn I shall, from some of the Spanish Ports in California, have the honor of transmitting a copy of our proceedings, charts, etc to that period.

The day we arrived here, I had the honor of receiving by the *San Carlos* from Sn Blas, who anchored here a few hours after us, a very polite and friendly letter from the Vice Roy of Mexico, dated the 13th of March, 1793, informing me of his having afforded Lieutt Broughton every possible assistance and dispatch, for his proceeding instantly to Europe.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedt

and very humble Servant,

GEO. VANCOUVER.

39.

Vancouver : Discovery, Port St Diego.

6 Dec. 1793.

To Philip Stephens, Esq.

[' Rc 21 (11 ?) Oct. 1794.']

SIR,—I beg you will do me the honor of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that agreeable to my letter of the 22nd of May last, we quitted Nootka on the day following, and joined the *Chatham*, agreeable to her rendezvous, in Fitzhugh's Sound, on the 26th of the same month ; from whence we renewed our investigation of the continental shore of N.W. America. In this pursuit, however, our progress was excessively slow, occasioned from the very insulated situation of the country, and the inclemency of the weather, which existed almost throughout the season without intermission : and as the particular detail of the executing that service (where no circumstance of any very material import occurred, being mostly a repetition of describing

the dreary and inhospitable countries, similar to what has been already noticed in my journal of our excursion during the summer of last year, North Westward from Desolation Sound), would form a package of considerable size, and not so likely to be conveyed with safety by the post through this extent of land carriage. I shall therefore refer to the inclosed chart as the best mode of pointing out in what manner our time has been occupied ; with only farther observing, that in the execution of that irksome, tedious, and laborious task, not a moment during the whole summer that could be appropriated to the facilitating the service of our expedition was unprofitably employed.

The track laid down in the Chart, shews the route by which the Vessels proceeded ; and the various arms, channels, etc. lying in the different directions from the track, have been finally examined, and their extent determined, by the various excursions of our boats. In one of these cruizes, on the 15th of June last, in the latitude of about $52^{\circ} 30'$ and longitude 232° our boat crews experienced a malady, which had nearly proved fatal to the whole, and is attributed to some muscles they had eaten, which were of that pernicious quality as very shortly to affect all who had eaten of them with a numbness, first in their extremities, and then over the whole body, attended with a dizziness in their head : this however did not prevent their executing their duty, and the whole of the boats crew pulled their oars, in rowing alongshore, near three hours after they had eaten these muscles ; but on the boats landing, about noon, the instant they left off rowing, three of them were seized in such a manner as to be obliged to be carried out of the boat, when John Carter almost instantly expired ; the others not feeling this very subtil poison in so violent a degree as the unfortunate man who lost his life by it, drank copiously of warm water, which had the desired effect, in removing the poison ; nor did their indisposition continue long after their return on board.

The country we have passed through in general this summer, appears incapable of being appropriated to any other use than the abode of the few uncouth inhabitants it at present contains ; these however appear by far the more numerous the nearer to the ocean, those inhabiting the interior parts being only in single families or very small parties. As we advanced to the N.W. their appearance, manners, customs, etc., seemed considerably to differ, as did likewise their conduct and disposition, particularly

that of the latter after we had passed the 54° of No latitude : those we there fell in with had been much accustomed to the various traders who have lately visited the sea coast, and from them are well supplied with fire-arms and ammunition, by which means they became very formidable to our boat excursions, and in course very unpleasant visiters when assembled in any numbers ; as was proved to be the case in two different instances, during our summer's excursion : the one being on the 12^t of August last at Escape Point, near Traiter's Cove, in lat: $55^{\circ} 37'$ and Longde $228^{\circ} 30'$ where myself, accompanied by Mr. Puget, in the pinnace, on a very long excursion, nearly had, and I believe inevitably would have, been cut off, and everyone murdered, but for the timely assistance of the Launch, by which means we escaped without the loss of any lives on our side, and only two of our people badly wounded, who have since perfectly recovered. The other instance was not far remote from the same station, where Mr. Johnstone, in returning to the ships from a similar excursion, was, on the 3rd of September, near Cape Caamano [?], suddenly surprised by the sallying out of near two hundred and fifty Indians in their canoes, all armed, and at once starting from behind a point of land, approached hastily towards the boats, with every appearance of hostile intentions, but on some musquets, and a swivel loaded with grape-shot, being fired near them they desisted, and the boats passed by unmolested.

The produce and aspect of the country we have thus explored differs in no material degree from what has been already described North-Westward from Desolation Sound ; excepting the sea-otter beings every where in the greatest abundance, though like the inhabitants of the country are more numerous the nearer to the ocean ; and nearly the whole of the natives, which in our different excursions we have fallen in with, are well versed in commercial pursuits, and seldom visited us without bringing sea-otter skins, which they generally disposed of, though at an exorbitant price, of which during the season I believe near three hundred were purchased by the different persons on board ; and had such been our pursuit there is little doubt, but we might have collected any quantity we wished to take.

I have thus in a cursory manner mentioned these circumstances of advantage and disadvantages, that it may serve for the information of future visiters, the extent of this mode of

correspondence not enabling me to enter into a more minute detail of such occurrences.

Their Lordships will, from the inclosed and former Chart, see the extent to which we have traced the continental shore through all its various turnings and windings, from the entrance of De Fuca's Straits to Cape Decision in the latitude of $56^{\circ} 2'$ and longitude $226^{\circ} 7'$ where the solid continent of N.W. America is again found to be washed with the uninterrupted oceanic water; and the extent and validity of the pretended discoveries of De Fuca, De Fonte, etc, etc, said to exist within the limits of that insulated region, finally examined, traced, and determined, beyond all doubt or disputation; and notwithstanding the extent of this summer's investigation in a direct line occupys no very considerable space, yet I trust it has been one of the greatest obstacles we have in the execution of this expedition to surmount: and having again found the continent to compose the oceanic shore, I have every expectation that our researches in the ensuing summer will be carried forward with infinitely more facility than in the former instances has been the case. This inland investigation occupied our time until we again arrived in the pacific ocean on the 22d of September; when, after having experienced since the commencement of that month much turbulent and boisterous weather, indicating the approach, or rather the commencement, of winter, I declined farther prosecuting our researches to the Northward, and directed our course to the South Eastward along the western shore of the Queen Charlotte's Islands, towards Nootka, in expectation of these joining the *Dædalus* agreeable to the directions I had given to that effect, as in case she had been fortunate in her passages there was a great probability of her arrival in that port, which by adverse winds, etc, we were prevented reaching until the 5th of October; when not meeting with the *Dædalus*, I left sufficient instructions with the Spanish commanding Officer for the government of the conduct of the Officer commanding that or any other Vessel charged with stores; dispatches, etc addressed to me, that might arrive in that port during my absence from it; and on the 8th of the same month sailed, directing our route, in company with the *Chatham* Armed Tender, towards the Spanish settlements in California; it being my intentions (from the favorable reception we had in a former instance experienced in these ports) to refit the Vessels and discharge the

Dædalus, in case of her joining us, together with executing all other necessary services, in this port; where I also expected the honor of receiving some instructions from their Lordships, in reply to my dispatches transmitted from this country last year.

In the passage to the southward we separated from the *Chatham*, and on the 19th of October in the evening we anchored in Sn Francisco, and were visited by our old friend Sr Sal, proffering such offices of friendship as lay in his power to afford us; he informed us of the commotions that had arisen in Europe, the junction of the allied forces against France, etc. etc. which was information not a little interesting to persons in our situation; but to my utter astonishment in the morning I received from him the letters (No 3 and 4) to which I returned my answer (No 5). A reception so different to what on my former visit I had experienced was a matter not easily to be accounted for, and made me almost at a loss what measures to pursue; but as Sor Arrillaga, the officer officiating as Governor General of the province, resided at Monterrey, I determined, on the arrival of the *Chatham* to proceed thither, conceiving, that by a short explanation, the restrictions we were then under would in a great measure be done away, this was also the opinion of Sor Sal, and the fathers of the Missions, who favored us with a visit. The *Chatham* having joined us we therefore put to sea on the 24th and the following day were joined by the *Dædalus*, when Lieutenant Hanson informed me they had arrived at Nootka the day after we quitted it, and, agreeable to the instructions there received had proceeded thus to join us, having brought a supply of most of the necessary Stores I had demanded; and also a request from Major Grose that I would once more endeavour to propagate the breed of Cattle of this country in His Majesty's Colony in New South Wales by sending a different assortment, etc.—which it was my intentions to execute had our reception been more favorable at Monterrey than it had been at Sn Francisco.

Adverse winds, calms, fogs, etc, prevented our reaching Monterrey until the 1st of November, when, after the usual formalities of salutes, etc. had passed, in the evening I received from Sor Arrillaga two letters (No 6 and 7) to which I replied (No 8) and which will I trust sufficiently point out to their Lordships my motives for this visit, and the very unexpected situation I found myself drawn into under the abovementioned

circumstances, and which was rendered still more unpleasant by the Commandants reply (No 9) to my representation requests, etc. together with the constructions he has been pleased to place on the letters of the Vice Roy, (No 1 and 2) and that of Sor Quadra (No 10), which, if the translations are right, and of which I have not the smallest doubt, appears to me in a very different point of view to what he has considered them ; and the whole tenor of his letter, though in some measure offering to alleviate our necessities, was in such a sneering, forbidding and ungracious stile, I considered it far too degrading and humiliating to the character and situation in which I am placed, to accept of such offers, but under circumstances of the greatest distress and necessity ; which fortunately not being our situation, at half past ten at night, on the 5th of November, with a light wind, in company with the *Chatham* and *Dædalus*, we sailed out of Monterrey Bay, directing our course along the shores of the Continent, through the Canal of Sta Barbara ; where on the evening of the 11th having occasion to anchor for the night, our situation was in a small Bay before the presidio and Mission of Sta Barbara ; to the commanding Officer of that port I sent Lieutenant Swaine, to give information of our arrival, it being my intentions to sail again in the morning ; but the very civil reception Mr. Swaine met with from that Officer, offering us large supplies of refreshments, et, as also wood and water (both of which we stood in some need of) were to be procured, though not in a very expeditious manner yet infinitely more so than can be effected in this port, I determined to wait a few days for the purpose of procuring those things ; which being effected, on the 18th about noon we weighed, directing our route alongshore to the South East ; and in the evening anchored off the Mission of Bona Ventura, having been favored with the company of one of the fathers of that mission who embarked on board at Sta Barbara for the benevolent purpose of adding to our comforts by affording such farther refreshments as that settlement was capable of bestowing.

Calme and light southerly airs detained us there until the morning of the 21st, when in endeavouring to weigh the anchor the cable parted near the clench, and occupied our time the whole of the day in recovering the anchor, which at length was effected about 7 in the evening and the next morning we again directed our route alongshore towards this port, much indebted for the

very hospitable and polite attention, and civilities we had experienced from our Spanish friends during our continuance in the Canal of Sta Barbara. Light airs and calms rendered our progress so excessively slow that it was the 27th before we reached this port.

Lieutenant Swaine was sent to the presidio to give information of our arrival, and enquire if there were any dispatches, etc addressed to me, and also to request that the commanding Officer would be good enough to transmit such dispatches as I wished to prepare for their Lordships' information. In the meantime I received from Sor Antonio Grajero, the commandant of the port, the letter, No 11 and on Mr Swaine's return he informed me there was no letter or dispatches for me : that he had been received with the greatest friendship and civility by the Commandant of the port, who undertook to forward with the greatest care these despatches ; at the same time offering every assistance and refreshment within the power of his orders to grant. In the morning, (having replied to the Commandant's very civil and attentive letter, by mine No 12) I waited on him, and was received in a very polite and friendly manner : he informed me that he had received directions from Sor Arrillaga not to permit our discharging the store-ship, erect tents, observatories, etc.—but that during the time I might find it necessary to remain in this port, for the purpose of preparing my Charts, etc for their Lordships' information, he should experience the greatest happiness in affording us every refreshment, etc. that lay in his power.

I have thus taken the liberty of representing for their Lordships' information, every circumstance of the least note that has occurred in my transactions with His Catholic Majesty's subjects during our present visit to this coast : and must beg leave further to observe that it is totally out of my power to account for this very extraordinary behavior of S^{or} Arrillaga ; whether originating from a government and service entirely different from what I am acquainted with, or whether arising from some unfavorable prejudices, that has thus operated to actuate and guide the conduct of this acting governor of the province of California.

That our present visit was anxiously expected and pleasingly anticipated, by the whole of the inhabitants of this colony, is undoubtedly evident from the unanimous assertions of having been given to understand we should expend a considerable part of the winter in refitting our Vessels, etc. at this port : and that

S^{or} Quadra was of the same opinion is equally certain from the very civil manner in which he constantly spoke of us to S^{or} Antonio Grajero, who resided with him for some time, the last summer, prior to his embarking for the purpose of coming to the government of this port ; and on S^{or} Grajero's departure from St Blas S^{or} Quadra informed him that he might expect us to visit this port in the course of the winter, strictly requesting, in such case, that he would shew us every civility and attention in his power, and whatever expence etc. might accrue on that account he would be answerable for. Such is the information I have received from that Officer, who also informed me, that in anxious expectation for an opportunity to comply with such injunctions, they had looked out for us for some time, past, and it was only four days before our arrival that he received the very unpleasant orders from S^{or} Arrillaga, which deprived him of the pleasure he had on that occasion anticipated.

The Copying the inclosed Chart, as also a similar one transmitted to S^{or} Quadra, and which could not with any degree of accuracy be effected at sea, has detained us here until this evening ; Tomorrow, winds and weather permitting, we shall quit this port ; and under the present circumstances, I shall be obliged to take the *Dadalus* to the Sandwich Islands, in order to receive on board the Stores, provisions, etc, she has brought for us ; from whence she will be again dispatched to Port Jackson, with such hogs, etc as she may be able to take.

But I cannot finally close these dispatches, without adverting to our present situation ; and that there is a probability that the stores and provisions we shall then be able to stow, may be insufficient for the completion of our expedition ; which from the unexpected insulated situation of the country, we have been these two summers employed in exploring, the space that has occupied the major part of that time, from Cape Classet to Cape Decision, comprehends not a much greater extent of the external coast, than is situated between the said Cape, North Westward, to the entrance to Cook's River ; which coast, should we find equally insulated, it will be impossible we can finish such investigation in the course of the ensuing summer ; though, so far as my own opinion goes I am almost positively convinced we shall not find that to be the case ; yet, for the greater certainty of ascertaining the desired object of a water communication into

the interior parts of the continent, and as we have already determined that no such communication doth exist to the South Eastward of the 57° of North latitude, and the 227° of Et longitude—and the entrance of Cook's River (which from its magnitude, etc, undoubtedly has its source in the Continent of America; and probably not in any very high latitude) being situated in the 59° of North latitude—I think, as circumstances may occur, I may be induced to vary my former mode of proceeding, by beginning our investigations of the ensuing summer, on the West side of that River; and thus, by keeping the larboard shore on board, to trace the boundaries of the Continent to the above mentioned Cape, where we have at present quitted it: And as I should be excessively mortified in quitting this ocean without finally accomplishing the objects of my Commission, prior to my dispatching the *Dædalus*, I shall therefore maturely consider how far the supply we can at present take on board will answer for that purpose; as also, if I can with safety deposit the remaining part of her Cargo under the protection of Tamaah Maah, or any other of the principal Chiefs of those Islands, as the *Discovery* and *Chatham* are not able to contain more than eighteen months provisions; or if it will be again necessary that she should return to me with a farther supply; which latter, I shall endeavour if possible to avoid.

In case their Lordships should have dispatched any instructions for me to this port. I have directed the same should be immediately sent to S^{or} Quadra at St. Blas, who I have requested would forward them to me in the spring at Nootka, and though I may not then be able to visit that port, I shall call at it in the fall; by which period I trust I shall be favored by their Lordships with some farther instructions for my future proceeding: and having privately informed S^{or} Quadra of my reception in this country, by the acting Commandant of the province, I expect also to have his opinion on that subject.

Herewith you will receive, for their Lordships' information an account of the state and condition of the *Discovery* and *Chatham*. I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your Most obed^t humble Serv^t,

GEO. VANCOUVER.

*Enclosures mentioned by number in letter from V. dated 6 Dec. 1793.
fr. Port St Diego—accompanied by Spanish Copies.*

STATE AND CONDITION of His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* and *Chatham* Armed Tender

Ships' or Vessels' Names	Commanders' Names			
<i>Chatham</i>	<i>Discovery</i>	<i>G. Vancouver</i>	<i>P. Puget (Acting)</i>	
45	100	Whole Complement		
35	84	Complement		
36	82	Borne		
35	79	Mustered		
.	1	Widow's Men	checked	
1	1	With leave		
.	.	Without leave		
.	1	Lent		
.	1	On board	Sick	
.	.	On shore		
7	9	Officers	of the No Borne	
29	73	Petty & Able		
.	.	Ordinary		
.	2	Short of Compt.		
10	16	Complement		
.	.	Captains	Officers	
.	.	1st Lieutenants		
.	.	2nd Lieutenants		
1	1	Serjeants		
.	1	Corporals		
.	1	Drummers		
7	11	Privates		
8	14	Borne		
8	14	Mustered		
.	.	With leave	checked	
.	.	Without leave		
.	.	Lent		
2	2	Short of Compt.		
1	4	Total short of Compt.		
1	1	Entered		
1	.	From the Service	Dishd	
1	1	Into other Ships		
.	.	Unserviceable		
.	.	Dsqd.		
.	1	Dead		
.	.	Run		
.	.	Borne		
.	.	Mustered	No Ship	
.	.	Chequed		
.	.	Sick		
1	.	Borne		
1	.	Mustered	Other Ships	
.	.	Chequed		
.	.	Sick		
44	93	Whole No. Virtualled		

under my command, in Port St. Diego, 6th December, 1793

Ships' or Vessels' Names		Commanders' Names		Provisions on board for the Complement		Officers		Condition of Ship		When last Cleaned	
<i>Discovery</i>	<i>Chatham</i>	G. Vancouver	P. Puget (Acting)	Days	Weeks	Stores	Absent	Occasion	Wants Refitting	Coppered	
75	270	Bread									
.	.	Beer									
105	380	Spirits, etc.									
9	50	Beef									
10	70	Pork									
5	46	Pease									
.	50	Oatmeal, etc.									
9	50	Flour, etc.									
.	.	Suet									
.	.	Cheese									
.	.	Butter									
6	30	Oil, etc.									
12	30	Vinegar									
13	32	Tuns of Water									
Part	Part	Boatswain's									
Part	Part	Gunner's									
Part	Part	Carpenter's									
Commander	1st Lieut.	Absent									
Sent to England with public dispatches	Lieut. to the <i>Chatham</i>	Occasion									
Wants Refitting	Coppered	Condition of Ship									
Wants Refitting	Coppered	When last Cleaned									

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Copies and Translations of letters, referred to in my letter to Mr. Stephens of the 6th of Decem^r 1793.

No. 1

Mexico, 18 *February* 1793.

SIR,—I am very happy, according to the information of your letter of the 13th January of this year, that all the subjects of His Catholic Majesty under my command, and resident in the places of New Orleans of America where you have been, have treated you with such hospitality and friendship.

In this they have no more than conformed with the desires of their Sovereign in keeping up the best correspondence with the King and British Nation ; and to which likewise has conspired all my orders and dispositions. I have the pleasure to offer you whatever these Kingdoms may afford, and I ask of god to guard your life many years.

Kisses your hand, your most attentive
humble Servant

(signed) THE COUNT DE REVILLA GIGEDO.

No. 2

Mexico, 13 *March* 1793.

SIR,—I have given to the Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, Mr. Wm. R. Broughton, all the assistance he asked for, for his voyage, and embarking at Vera Cruz ; and would have helped him to any thing else he might have wanted, because his person and circumstances demand it, and on account of their Spanish and Britannic Majesties' service, and your recommendation, which from me would always have met with the greatest attention, even if it had not fallen on a subject so worthy of it.

I am persuaded by this means the British Court will receive earlier your papers etc., to which I was incited by your letter of the 13th January last, and am happy in having had this new motive of serving you ; and it is the greatest satisfaction to me to be employed in your service, my best desires all tending to that point. I pray to God to guard your life many years, and kisses your hand,

your most humble servant,
(signed) THE COUNT DE REVILLA GIGEDO.

No. 3

SIR,—Having anchored in this port last night the frigate under your command, you will be kind enough to inform me of it in

writing, and of whatever you may want for your Vessel ; on the sight thereof I shall do every thing to forward them to you ; and likewise to inform me of the time you shall remain in this port, because on this day I have to give advice thereof to the Governor of this province. God guard you many years—

Sⁿ Francisco, 8 Octo. 1793.

(signed) H. SAL.

No. 4

SIR,—The superior orders I am under obliges me to inform you, that no individual of the Vessel under your command comes on shore more than to water and wood, in case you want it. Yourself and an Officer or midshipman may pass to the Presidio, where you will be received and attended the same as last year.

God guard you many years

Sⁿ Francisco, 8 Octo: 1793.

(Signed) H. SAL.

No. 5

His Britannic Majesty's Ship
Discovery, Port Sⁿ. Francisco.

9th Octo. 1793.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of this date, I beg leave to inform you, that His Britannic Majesty's Ship under my command put into this port for the purpose of recruiting the wood and water ; as also to acquire such refreshments as the country may be found to afford ; consisting of fresh meat, vegetables, etc.—of which my Officers and Ship's company stand in the greatest need. And in respect to the time I intend to stay, I cannot immediately resolve ; as having parted company with our consort the *Chatham*, this is the appointed rendezvous for our meeting, which I expect will take place in the course of three or four days ; when having recruited her wood, water, etc ; which may probably occupy one or two days, we shall depart.

I have also received your letter respecting the restrictions of our communication's with the shore ; which shall be particularly attended to.

I am etc

(Signed) GEORGE VANCOUVER.

Sⁿ. Wm. H. Sal,

Commandante,

Sⁿ Francisco.

No. 6

SIR,—I am without orders for the reception of foreign Vessels in the ports under my jurisdiction, and without any for assisting, etc ; excepting rights of hospitality, which are due.

I see not only your arrival here, but at Sⁿ Francisco, where I had given my orders for such cases as these. Allowing this, I supplicate from you, that you will communicate the objects which has brought you here, that they may serve my government.

God guard you many years—

Monterrey, 31 Octo. 1793.

(signed) I. I. ARRILLAGO.

No. 5

SIR,—Desiring by every possible means to preserve the greatest harmony, and to avert the causes which might alter it, between the Vessels under your command, and those under my jurisdiction, without departing from the spirit of my order, I find myself obliged to inform you of the orders, etc. which are given to the commanders of the different ports in this province. Viz^t that they will permit only the Commanders of foreign Vessels, with one or two to accompany them, or as many as may be necessary for their precise business, etc.—and that when they want to wood and water, they must give notice of it. This now, Sir, I inform you of, and beg you will not think it strange : at the same time, any assistance you may want, etc, shall be forwarded to you with the greatest dispatch : by your advising me of them.

God guard you many years,

Monterrey, 31 Octo 1793.

(signed) I. I. ARRILLAGO.

No. 8

His Britannic Majesty's Ship
Discovery, Monterrey Bay,

2^d Nov. 1793.

SIR,—I am favored with your two letters of yesterday ; the first informing me that you had not any orders respecting the reception of foreign Vessels into these ports ; and requesting to be informed of the objects which have brought me hither, as such may serve for your government : and the other respecting certain restrictions relative to our communication with the shore.

This, Sir, naturally leads me to the explanation of the object of my commission, which, without reserve, I beg leave to inform

you is a voyage of *Discovery* and exploring various countries in the pacific ocean ; of which, the coast of N.W. America becomes one of its principal objects, and which, northward from these ports, until my visit last year, was very equivocally known ; though now everything appertaining to its geography is finally ascertained to the latitude of 56° N $^{\circ}$ and longitude 226° , East of Greenwich ; but as the extent of my researches still comprehends the exploring of the coast a considerable distance farther to the North-Westward I am obliged to remain in this ocean for the purpose of carrying into execution such examination, during the ensuing summer, etc, this being my situation at present, I will farther explain to you the object which has brought me to the ports under your jurisdiction.

In the first place, I am instructed by the Court of Great Britain, to visit this region ; and prior to my departure from England was given to understand that I should not only be hospitably received, but that such information as I might have occasion to communicate to the British Court of the progress of the expedition, etc. committed to my charge and execution, would, by His Catholic Majesty's Officers residing in these ports, be forwarded to England by the way of S^t Blas and New Spain, with the utmost care and dispatch. Under such information, seconded by the most friendly and hospitable invitations of S^t Quadra from Nootka, I came here last autumn with the strongest confidence of receiving every benefit and the various advantages this country affords to persons in our situation, and in which I experienced the highest satisfaction in finding them far to exceed my most sanguine expectations.

The object of our voyage being also of a public nature, as there is little doubt of the Court of Great Britain publishing all our various discoveries, etc. for the general use and benefit of mankind, I consider myself more as acting in the capacity of a servant of the world, than that of any particular sovereign ; or at any rate, my labors are equally beneficial to the Court of Spain as that of Great Britain, as I am instructed to make a free and unreserved communication of all the discoveries made during my voyage to any of His Catholic Majesty's Officers which I might fall in with, engaged in similar pursuits, and also to enter into an exchange of all charts made during our respective voyages ; which accordingly took place last year with S^t Quadra ; and though I have not the

pleasure of meeting him or any Spanish Officer this year, engaged in the said pursuit, yet, in order by every means to cement and strengthen the bonds of harmony, at present subsisting between our respective sovereigns, and executing to the utmost in my power that object His Britannic Majesty had in view by giving such instructions, it is my intention to transmit to S^r Quadra, a copy of all the Charts and Surveys I have made since my departure from this port last year; by which means the Spanish Court acquires a prior information of our labours to that of Great Britain.

These circumstances, Sir,—and encouraged by our former reception, as also by the very handsome letters I am honored with from His Excellency the Vice Roy of New Spain (in reply to a letter of thanks. I had troubled him with for the unbounded civilities shewn to myself, Officers and Ship's companies, by the *whole of His Catholic Majesty's subjects in this colony*), wherein His Excellency informs me, that in shewing such civilities and attentions the said subjects only complied with the desire of their sovereign, and his orders and dispositions, (but as the perusal of these letters may tend to point out to you the light in which His Excellency views the expedition entrusted to my charge, and be satisfactory to you, I have taken the liberty of troubling you with them for that purpose) and, lastly, the expectation of receiving at S^a Diego orders and instructions for the guidance of my conduct, from the British Court, relative to the cession of Nootka, and the other purposes of my voyage, above pointed out,—are the motives that induced me to make choice of one of the ports under your jurisdiction, (which I considered as that of a friend, or indeed an ally, where very refreshment could be procured for establishing and preserving the health of the Officers and people under my command, during the time we must necessarily remain somewhere stationary for executing such services as are at present absolutely necessary to be performed,) in preference to the frigid and inhospitable ports on this coast in a more northern clime, or the unsafe roadsteads and turbulent disposition of the natives of the Sandwich Islands; which regions, from our distance from Great Britain, or any of it's colonies, are the only places, excepting these ports, where we can resort to, in the vicinity of the present object of our voyage, for the executing such business, whereby I am enabled to carry into execution that part of my commission which still remains unfinished.

Thus, having explained the motives and pointed out the objects that has enticed me to the ports under your jurisdiction, I shall now explain to you the service I intended to execute in some one of them, and which, from the length of our voyage, is now become indispensibly necessary;—first—that of our masts requiring a strict inspection, particularly under the rigging, which must, be all taken off for the purpose of acquiring its proper repairs; all of this business is easily executed on board. Secondly; the Vessel laden with stores and provisions which are to be taken on board the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, must be cleared, which cannot be executed without landing part of her cargo; in which case it will be necessary to have a tent on shore, with an Officer and proper persons to take charge thereof. Thirdly as the execution of my commission is attended with a strict investigation into all scientific pursuits, particularly Astronomy and Natural History, which I am directed in every situation where the Vessels become stationary, to pay the strictest attention to it, it will therefore be necessary that my observatory should be erected on the shore, and an Officer (meaning Mr. Whidbey the Master of this Ship) with two or three midshipmen to reside on shore, in order to attend to the execution of that, as well wooding, watering, and all other services which must manifestly be transacted on shore; and in the pursuit of Natural History, of which Botany is the principal object of our investigation, it would be necessary that Mr. Menzies, (whose office in this ship, is an attention to that particular study) should be permitted to make his necessary excursions in this neighbourhood, in order to prosecute such investigation. And, lastly—what I consider an object of no small comfort to persons in our situation, confined as it were in a prison for years together, within the sides of our Vessels,—that Officers of these Vessels may be permitted to make small excursions about this immediate neighbourhood, either on foot or horseback, by way of recreation, subject to such restrictions as your prudence may deem necessary to point out. These indulgences were all granted to us on my former visit to this port; which the Officers about you can demonstrate.

Thus, Sir, having agreeable to your request pointed out the causes, which have operated to induce me to visit the ports under your jurisdiction, I have also stated the services, etc, which are absolutely necessary, and my anxious desire to have performed.

And your being kind enough to inform me so soon as possible how far it is in your power to permit such services, etc., to be executed, in any of the beforementioned ports will highly oblige him who has the honor to be,

Sir etc.

(signed) GEORGE VANCOUVER.

Sⁿ Dr I. I. Arrillaga

Commandante, etc.

Monterrey.

No. 9

SIR,—I am favored with your letter of the 2^d of this month, which does me the honor of answering my former ones ; and I am satisfied with your polite ingenuity and solicitude in informing me of the objects of your arrival ; all which informs me with what sincerity I ought to answer the succours which you ask of me.

I am well informed of the object from which your commission is derived, and the motives of your coming, and of all that is necessary for prosecuting your commission ; and by the letters which you confided to me from His Excellency the Vice Roy of New Spain, that the obsequies which you received from Sⁿ Quadra and the Officers of these presidios were grateful to him.

But I do not comprehend that His Excellency intended this second visit ; as for the first he would have given me his orders ; at the same time we are in want of a Royal Order from the King my master for the reception of your Vessels, like those which M^r Prowse brought. On this account we cannot take example by the last year ;—even S^r Quadra before his departure left with the commander of this garrison, the notice which you will see by the enclosed copy ; giving to understand, and even expressing, that these obsequies were only for that time, and that they did not extend to the future.

Notwithstanding this, I have manifested in my last, that as far as lay in my power I would assist you. In consequence, and desirous to contribute to the public utility which reflects from your commission, and the confidence in which you come, it is necessary to know the most precise time in which the provisions can be unloaded and deposited in the warehouse which is at the landing place, which I will lend to you with its key, if you will cause a hut to be erected for the lodgement of my guard, or as you

may dispose if the warehouse does not accommodate you : but this so that only one or two people remain to take care of it, under the cover of my troops, and that every one else retire on board at night.

I judge that in the length of time which you had last year, your observations, astronomical and natural, must be well forwarded. If the first is to be done, only in the day time can they put up the observatory, near to that of the Cargo. The Officer charged with the second can perform within sight of the presidio ; and within the same proximity the gentleman Officers can recreate themselves on foot. And finally I have not the least objection to the wooding and water which the ships may want, being, as I have said, that the people go on board at night ; and it ought to be promised that all shall be concluded with the greatest brevity, that you may be able to continue your charges : this is as far as I can extend myself ; and I believe I have now answered you all.

God guard you for many years.

Monterrey, 3 Nov. 1793.

(Signed) I. I. ARRILLAGA.

Geo. Vancouver Esq.,
etc.

No. 10 (Copy)

On board the *Active*, 12 Jan'y 1793.

Monterrey

By the convention with the Court of London, all foreign Vessels are prohibited the entrance into our establishments, (except they execute it in case of any accident,) without the order of His Majesty, or permission of His Excellency ; as has been verified this time with Commodore Vancouver. They are to be assisted with the necessaries which hospitality demands, without being permitted to delay ; which I notice to you for your intelligence and government.

(Signed) J. F. BODEGA Y QUADRA.

Sr W^m I. Arguello,

copy, Monterrey, 3 Nov. 1793.

(signed) I. I. DE ARRILLAGA.

No. 11

Sⁿ Diego, 26 Nov. 1793.

Desirous to know of your safe arrival and the motives which

have occurred in bringing you to this port, I have sent the serjeant of this company, (the Alfarez being absent) that he may be able to inform me in what I can serve you, or any of the gentlemen of your ships. As you know the responsibility of my employment in this port, and how subject I am to the orders of the Governor of the province, I shall take an opportunity of mentioning to you what is necessary for your government.

God guard you many years.

(Signed) ANTONIO GRAJERO.

Sⁿ Commandante of the British Nation.

His Britannic Majesty's Ship *Discovery*, Port Sⁿ Diego.

28 Nov. 1793.

SIR,—I am favored with your very polite and attentive letter of yesterday, and beg leave to inform you, that the expectation of receiving some dispatches from the Court of Great Britain, in this port, is the motive which has induced me to visit it: and also to intrude on your civility in requesting you would do me the particular favor of transmitting from me such dispatches as are necessary for the information of the British Court of the progress of our voyage, etc. etc. In case it is in your power to acquiesce with this request I shall have occasion to remain here two or three days for the purpose of preparing such papers: during which time I should be glad to be provided with some fresh provisions, etc. for the Officers and people under my command.

I am etc.

(signed) GEORGE VANCOUVER.

S^r D^r Antonio Grajero

Commandante etc.

Sⁿ Diego.

40.

(Back: 16 Jan 1794. *Instructions respecting the Officers going ashore.*)

Chatham.

By George Vancouver Esq.

Commander of His Majesty's
Sloop *Discovery*, etc.

Though desirous in the highest degree to shew to the Officers and gentlemen under my command every indulgence they justly

merit, and the nature of the service they will admit of:—yet certain situations require certain restrictions; and conceiving it of the utmost importance to His Majesty's service entrusted to my charge and execution that every possible precaution should be taken, particularly in our present very irksome and necessitous situation, to prevent the most trivial misunderstand taking place between us and the inhabitants of this Island.

Therefore, in consequence of the cautions communicated to me by Tammah Maah, its King, of there being in the neighbourhood of this bay many persons very ill disposed to his interest who would be happy in an opportunity of committing offences and misdemeanors against us, in order that we should revenge such crimes on Tamaah Maah either of taking his life, or destroying his power, property, etc. etc; I judge it expedient that when the Officers of the Gun Room belonging to the Vessels under my command are inclined to take any recreation on shore, that they go unarmed as arms and ammunition are articles of the greatest temptation to entice the ill-disposed part of these Islanders to acts of outrage and impropriety; and when they make any excursions into the country, they are to apply to Tamaah Maah, who will appoint proper people to protect them, attend them, and render them such services as they may require.

With respect to the midshipmen and other gentlemen of the quarter-deck; they may accompany the said officers on all occasions on shore, under their guidance and the above restrictions; but not to be permitted to ramble about the country at their own discretion to the great danger of their lives, and prejudice of His Majesty's service; nor are any of the people to be permitted to go on shore, but for the purpose of executing the necessary duty required. And such restrictions being of the utmost importance to His Majesty's service, you are to cause the same to be punctually attended to.

For which this shall be your order.

Dated on board His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*
in Karakakooa Bay, 16 January 1794.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

To. *Lieut Peter Puget.*

Commanding His Majesty's Armed Tender *Chatham*,
in the absence of Lieutenant Broughton.

41.

[On outside, as folded

‘Order to proceed to Cook’s River in Case of Separation
Rendezvous No. 6.’]

17 Dec. 1793.

Rendezvous No 6.

To proceed to Cook’s River, and commence the survey of the Continental shore of N.W. America, bordering on the Western side of that river from Cape Douglas, situated in $58^{\circ} 56' N^{\circ}$ lat : and $206^{\circ} .10'$ Et long^{de} keeping the larboard shore always on board ; and pursuing your examination northward up that river, so far as it may be found navigable for Vessels of such dimensions as can with safety navigate the oceans : and, having so determined to the extent of its being thus navigable on your return, to pursue your survey of the continental shore of the said River, as also close along the sea-coast into Prince William’s Sound ; and having determined as aforesaid the navigable extent of that inlet, to leave in a situation easily to be discovered, in Snug Corner Cove, near the run of water, a bottle, containing a letter, giving some information of your proceedings, intentions, etc. And as in all probability, during your investigation of Cook’s River, you may fall in with some subjects of the Russian Empire, you will cause them, as also the subjects of any other power you may meet, to be treated with the utmost hospitality, friendship, and attention ; and with them also you will leave, for my information, some account of your proceedings, etc ; and in case I should precede you in such investigation, I shall likewise leave for your guidance such necessary information as circumstances may require in all such situations as you may be likely to fall in with, and you will be pleased to do the same throughout the summer in carrying on the survey and examination of the aforesaid continental shore, its inlets etc. from Prince Williams’s Sound South Eastward to Cape Decision, in lat $56^{\circ} . . 2 N^{\circ}$ and long^{de} $226^{\circ} 8'$ Et particularly somewhere in the South East part of Cross Sound ; and in the course of which time not falling in with, or receiving any further instructions from me, to proceed to Nootka ; and not joining company by the 10th of October 1794, or receiving any further instructions from me, to open the letter of instructions, and put into execution His Majesty’s commands therein communicated to you, to the utmost in your power ; and also to open

and execute and farther instructions that may be there found addressed to me, taking a copy thereof and leaving the original, as also an account of your proceedings, Charts, etc. for my guidance and information. And, as this rendezvous points out the services to be performed, and the mode intended to be adopted for its execution, during the ensuing summer, it will on all occasions be referred to : And in case of separation after the examination of Cook's River, Prince William's Sound, etc has been effected, it is to be considered as directing the survey to be continued of the remaining part of the Coast of N.W. America between Cape Douglas and that part of the Continental shore, where such separation may have taken place, to Cape Decision.

Dated on board His Majesty's Sloop
Discovery, at Sea, 17 Dec. 1793.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

To *Lieut. Peter Puget*

Commanding His Majesty's

Armed Tender *Chatham* in the absences of Lt. Broughton.

42.

Vancouver : Discovery, Karakakooa [— ? torn] Owhyhee,
8 Feb'y 1794.

To *Philip Stephens Esq.* [' Rec. 20 Nov 1795 ']

SIR,—I beg you will do me the honor of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that after the date of my last dispatches, of the 6th December 1793, transmitted to your office from the port of Sⁿ Diego, in California by the way of Sⁿ Blas and New Spain ; I was detained in that port by adverse winds until the 9th when we put to sea in company with the *Chatham* and *Daedalus*, directing our course to the examination of the continental shore, southwards, to the 30th degree of North latitude ; which from light variable winds we were prevented accomplishing until the 15th of the month ; when having traced the Coast to the latitude of 29° 54' North, and long^{de} 244° 33' E^t our course was directed to fixing the situation of the Island of Guadalupe, which we did the day following ; and herewith is transmitted a copy of my Survey of the said Coast and Islands, for their Lordships information ; but under the present state of affairs in Europe and considering the route these dispatches are

to take, (being by Port Jackson) as a very precarious one, I have not transmitted a copy of my Journal.

The inclosed Chart delineates all the Spanish settlements made within its limits ; as also the year of their establishment, with all the precision I have been able from my various enquiries to ascertain ; Monterrey, St^a Barbara, Bueno Ventura, St. John's, St Diego and St Domingo being the only ones whose positions I am certain of, the others being laid down from the best authority I could procure from the Spaniards, who are but indifferent geographers. The force by which these are protected, as well as those Northward of Monterrey, including Sⁿ Francisco, and the new establishment which I am given to understand, the Spaniards have formed during the last summer in the southern opening of the port of Bodega, doth not amount to four hundred ill-disiplined troops. In the whole province there is not a single fort ; and the only thing resembling fortification is a very rude Barbet Battery of eleven Cannon of different sizes, erected at Monterrey since our former visit, on a hill near the shores of that bay which commands the anchorage ; and something similar was just begun on the South East point of entrance into Port Sⁿ Francisco : every other place on the coast being nearly defenceless against any foreign enemy.

From Sⁿ Francisco to Sⁿ Diego, the country is well stocked with cattle of all sorts ; and the soil, though presenting (where uncultivated) a very dreary aspect, yet with the assistance of but little labour is found to be very productive. Southward from Sⁿ Diego, the country is reported to be excessively barren, which its dreary and inhospitable aspect sufficiently announced, but we were not fortunate enough to fall in with any of their settlements in that country so as to determine, or acquire any farther information towards the illustration of that object.

From the Island of Guadalupe we directed our route Towards the Sandwich Islands and on the 8th of January 1794, got sight of the East end of Owhyhee, The next day Mr. Whidbey accompanied by a boat from the *Chatham*, and another from the *Dædalus*, was dispatched to examine a bay or harbour, that we were informed existed between the East and North East points of Owhyhee, and where, at our departure from these Islands last year, I had appointed to meet Tamaah Maah and the principal Chiefs of the Island, on our present visit. It was no sooner known

on shore what our vessels were than his Owhyheean Majesty with some of his attendants visited us. On the return of the boats Mr. Whidbey reported the beforementioned bay, which had been pointed out as eligible for shipping, to be excessively exposed, and by no means likely to answer the purpose of transacting the business, we had then to execute, particularly at this time of the year, when the Northerly winds, mostly prevail, to which it is entirely open; though, in a more advanced season of the year, when the winds prevail to the southward of East, it might then be found to afford tolerable shelter. I therefore directed our route to this bay, and by a little persuasion prevailed on Tamaah Maah to accompany us, well knowing the importance his presence would be to us under our then necessitous situation. We anchored here about 10 at night on the 13th and have been employed in taking on board the *Dædalus*'s cargo; refitting the rigging, and every other necessary service the Vessels required, which we have effected with the greatest ease and pleasantry; highly indebted to the civil, honest and friendly behavior of the whole of the inhabitants of the Island, whose study seems to be to emulate the princely behavior of Tamaah Maah, their King; who has taken such steps in regulating the conduct of his people that scarce a theft has been committed, or an insolent word or action transpired from any of the numerous tribes of Indians who daily visit us. Nor has his good services rested in such attention to our quiet only, but also in other objects of the greatest importance, having undertaken himself to supply all our wants of wood, water, and the various refreshments of hogs, fish, vegetables, etc.—which the country affords, and in such abundance we have from time to time demanded for the use of the Three Vessels, without the trouble of bartering for those things; and by such means totally avoiding any unnecessary disputes that might arise in such transactions with the multitude who have those commodities to dispose of. Such conduct is doubtless deserving every commendation; and it is with no small satisfaction I reflect, that, as some return for the honorable and hospitable behavior we have in every instance experienced from these Islanders, I have at length effected the establishment of the breed of black cattle and sheep in Owhyhee, having succeeded in the present visit by bringing three bulls and two cows, as also some breeding sheep; all in very high condition; which, with those I left here last year, there is little

doubt, under the promise of Tamaah Maah, of the inhabitants taking the greatest care of them, that they will soon propagate to the advantage of the whole of these worthy people, and their future visitors.

Having taken on board the *Discovery* and *Chatham* such part of the *Dædalus*'s cargo as we could conveniently stow, I have ordered Lieutenant Hanson, Agent to the said Transport, to sail for Port Jackson, in the course of the present night, or in the ensuing morning, and follow the directions of the commanding Officer of that port for his future government; to him also I entrust these dispatches, to be forwarded to your Office by the most speedy conveyance which that route may be found to afford.

The inclosed state and condition of the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, will inform their Lordships the length of time for which we are victualled, but our stores are by no means in equal proportion; these, however with good economy I trust will answer for our effecting all the purposes of our voyage; which still remains unexecuted; and under s . . . [torn] consideration, I have not made any farther demand of supplies from Port Jackson.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obed^t humble serv^t

GEO. VANCOUVER.

43.

[On outside of MSS.—Chalmer's Harbor

Order to proceed to Port Mulgrave.”]

By *George Vancouver Esq.*

Commander of His Majesty's Sloop
Discovery, etc.

Having deemed it expedient that His Majesty's Armed Tender under your command should be immediately dispatched, for the purpose of carrying forwards the investigation of the American Coast, from Cape Hinchinbrooke to Port Mulgrave; You are therefore hereby required and directed to proceed without a moments loss of time in the execution of that service; which is to be particularly directed, not only to the fixing the outline of the said coast; but also to the strict examination of all openings, inlets, rivers, etc. which may be found existing within the said limits, so far as they may be navigable for Vessels of such burthen as can with safety traverse the oceans,

On your arrival in Port Mulgrave you are to anchor in some convenient situation near Point Turner ; and having extended the investigation of the Continental shore to Point Carren you will wait for me at the above mentioned Anchorage until the first of July : when, gaining no intelligence of me, you are to leave in the said port the best information for me in your power of your proceedings, etc, and then proceed in the farther examination of the said Continental shore into Cross Sound agreeable to the above instructions, keeping always on the larboard or continental shore ; and in case of not joining me in Cross Sound, to act agreeable to the instructions and directions pointed out in Rendezvous No. 6. But should you not arrive at the anchorage pointed out in Port Mulgrave until after the 1st of July, and at such time of arrival not seeing or hearing any thing of me, you will wait four days in expectation of my arrival ; which at the expiration of that time not taking place, you are then to act as above directed. For which this shall be your order.

Dated on board His Majesty's Sloop
Discovery in Chalmer's Harbour,
Montague Island, 10 June 1794.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

To *Lieut. Peter Puget*
commanding His Majesty's
Armed Tender.

Chatham.

44.

Vancouver : Discovery, Nootka Sound.

Oct. 2, 1794.

To *Mr. Sykes.*

DEAR SIR,—By the *jenny* of bristol which sails this night or tomorrow morning I take the opportunity of transmitting to you a set of 2^d bills of exchange amounting in all to £160 ; 9s. 9d. the first of the same tenor and date having been dispatched in february last by the *Dædalus* from Karakakooa bay which I trust ere this reaches old England you must have received, I also beg leave to inform you that I have drawn on you three sets of bills of exchange, the first for £16-16s. Sterling dated 19 May Payable to the order of Mr. Archibald Menzies. the next for £42-15s. sterling dated y^r 28 of May payable to the order of M^r W^m Brown and the other for £150 Sterling dated 30 Sept^r Payable to M^r Hugh

More all which you will be good enough to accept and place to my account.

We arrived here this day month all in high health and spirits having *truly determined* the non existance of any water communication between this and the opposite side of America within the limits of our investigation beyond all doubt or disputation hence I expected no further detention in this hemisphere not doubting but the business respecting these territories must have been settled a sufficient length of time for a vessel to have arrived by whome we might be relieved and proceed on our route towards Old England in hopes to partake of some shair in the glorious and honorable cause her fleets and armies are at present engaged, but in these expectations we were disappointed no vessell having arrive from England to that effect nor have I received any information in answer to my dispatches sent home by Mudge and Broughton as I expected by way of New Spain but are still in expectation of some news from that quarter, as a packet was waiting in readiness at St Bless to forward the dispatches respecting the Restitution of this country etc but has not yet arrived. Thus you see my good friend I am once more entrap'd in this infernal Ocean, and am totally at a loss to say when I shall be able to quit it, and not having it in my power to communicate any particular information respecting our voyage I shall only farther add that your Son and all your friends in these Vessels are in perfect health though greatly mortified at our present detention from a more active station, which would be more congenial to our wishes than remaining here in a state of unpleasant inactivity.

A few days after our arrival here I had an opportunity of writing to my brother by way of New Spain but in case that letter might misscarry be good enough on the receipt of this to inform him of my well fare etc.

And believe I am with sincere wishes for the happiness of yourself M^r Sykes & Family

Yours with great truth
& Friend ship

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[On back is : 'Geo. Vancouver 2 October 94 Rec^d 26 July enclosing bills.

No 95	£13. 5.
96	13. 15

No 97	£ 4.	6.	
98	36.	6.	10 (?)
99	17.	7.	
100	20.	8.	6
101	4.	6.	6
102	20.	13.	9
103 (£ 2)	12.	16.	
104	20.	11.	9']

45.

Vancouver : Discovery, Nootka Sound.

8 Sept. 1794.

To Philip Stephens Esq.

[‘ Rc. 24 Ap. 1795 ’]

SIR, — I am to request you will do me the honor of communicating to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that it is with the greatest satisfaction I am at length able to inform them of our having finally traced and determined the Continental boundary of N.W. America from the latitude of $29^{\circ} 54$ North and longitude $244^{\circ} 33$ E^t North-Westward ; through all its various turnings and windings, so far as its different inlets have been found safely navigable for our boats, to Cape Douglas. During this investigation we have never been able to penetrate beyond the barrier of the lofty mountains, which, covered with eternal frost and snow, extend, nearly in a connected chain, along the western border of the continent I believe, to its utmost Northern limits ; though in some instances considerably farther removed from the ocean than in others. Our investigation during the present year had been carried on with the same scrupulous exactness as in the two former seasons ; and the result arising from those labours are I trust ere now in their Lordships’ possession.

The commencement of our researches during the present summer, took place, as in my letter from S^a Diego I had hinted, on the western side of Cook’s River, which we entered on the 12 of April last, where we experienced very boisterous and severe cold weather, the thermometer falling to 7° —the advancement of the season, however, enabled us by the 6th of May to determine that that inlet by no means constitutes a river ; having then reached its utmost extent and termination ; situated but a few leagues to the North-Eastward of the investigation of the boats under the direction of Captain Bligh, when sent out from the *Resolution* for that purpose. Indeed, I believe, Captain Bligh

had at that time arrived within a few yards of its navigable extent for shipping ; beyond which station the space then seen, occupied by water, is an entire shoal, in most places, dry at low tide. The River Turnagain terminated in a similar manner, approaching within a few miles of an arm, which extends westward from Prince William's Sound : the various branches of which inlet terminates either by a blockade of ice, or in a manner similar to what had been already described, at no very great distance from the ocean.

Both these arms of the sea are occupied by Russia ; their eastermost establishment being in Port Etches.

Eastward, from Cape Hinchinbrook to Cape Suckling, the northward or continental shores are not approachable, from the shoals which extend several miles from them : and from Cape Suckling to Cross Sound the shores are nearly strait and compact, excepting the small interruption caused by Beering's Bay ; (which, in Mr. Dixon's Chart is distinguished by the name of Admiralty Bay.)

Cross Sound proved very spacious, and communicating with an extensive inland navigation ; the northern part of which brought us within about three hundred and fifty geographic miles of the South-West borders of the Arathepescow Lake, as delineated in Captain Cook's general Chart : from thence an inland navigation, or nearly such extends to Cape Decision ; the whole extent of which being finally investigated and ascertained, we made the best of our way to this port, in order to acquire such necessary observations as are wanted for correcting our surveys ; and which the inclemency of the weather, during the whole of the present season, had prevented our procuring : this also deprives me of having the pleasure of transmitting by the present opportunity a copy of those surveys, etc for their Lordships information, having not yet, owing to rainy and thick weather, been able to obtain the necessary authority.

We arrived in this port, in company with the Chatham, on the evening of the 2nd inst., where I found, in consequence of the death of Sen^r Quadra, a Spanish Brigadier-General named Sr D^e Jose Manuel de Alava, appointed Governor of Nootka. This gentleman arrived in the *Princesa* from Sⁿ Blass, two days before us ; but not possessed with the resolves of the Courts of Spain and England respecting these territories ; such dispatches

not having arrived prior to his departure in June last :—but, being hourly expected, a Vessel was in perfect readiness to bring them to this port, the instant of their arrival at Sⁿ Blass : by which conveyance also I trust I shall receive some instructions from their Lordships for the guidance of my conduct and future proceedings ; since, under the present circumstances, without such further assistance, I shall be considerably at a loss in what manner to treat, etc with S^{or} Alava, who is authorised, on the receipt of such dispatches, to negotiate this business. This gentleman has, very politely, offered to forward this letter, by the *Aransasu* which sails for Sⁿ Blass tomorrow ; and through the channel of his civility I expect hereafter an opportunity of more fully communicating for their Lordships information, etc a copy of our surveys and an account of our proceedings since my last letter dated Karakakooa Bay, Owhyhee, Feb. 8th 1794.

The inclosed state and condition of the *Discovery* and *Chatham* shews the quantity of our provisions, stores etc. and at present I have only farther to point out, that in failure of receiving any instructions from their Lordships, for the execution of my commission respecting these territories, I consider myself as bound to remain in these seas ; in which case, the *Chatham* will be dispatched in due time to China, in order to procure the necessary supplies that may be required.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obed^t

and very humble Serv^t

GEO. VANCOUVER.

46.

De Vallenar

Don Ambrosio Higgins de Vallenar was an Irishman who became a naturalised Spaniard. He served in the English Army in the ranks as a youth, found promotion too slow for his liking and migrated to Spain. There he served as a soldier and obtained his commission in the Corps of Engineers, later transferring to the Dragoons, in which regiment he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, serving first in Spain, and then in Chili, as military commander of the frontiers, Governor of Conception and finally as Governor of Chili. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, with the Order of Charles the Third and St. James.

Sv

47.

Vancouver : Discovery, Valparaiso Bay.

28 April, 1795.

To Philip Stephens Esq.

SIR,—I am to request you will do me the honor of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, agreeable to my last dispatches, dated Monterrey, Nov. 24th 1794, I put to sea from that Bay, on the 2^d of December following, and directed our course along the coast of California, in order to fix the position of its different projecting points, and compare our longitude, carried forward by the Timekeeper from Monterrey, with that of Cape St Luca, near which promontory the transit of Venus had been observed, and its position by that means ascertained ; which in passing that Cape, afforded me the great satisfaction of finding as near a correspondence as could be expected with our observations. We pursued our route to the South Eastward, and on the 17th anchored near the East point of the middle Island of the Three Marias, in hopes of replenishing our water ; but finding that project ineffectual, we, in a few hours, again put to sea, directing our route in order to touch at the Island of Cocos on the Gallapagos ; but in this pursuit, owing to the bad sailing of the Vessels, and the light and baffling winds which attended us nearly the whole passage, it was not until the 23rd of January of the present year that we reached the Island of Cocos ; where, in a tollerable convenient bay, on its N.E. part, in latitude $5^{\circ} 34' 45''$, N. and longitude $273^{\circ} 5'$ Et^r we anchored ; and having fully recruited our wood and water, by the afternoon of the 27th of the same month, again put to sea. To the North-Westward of the Island we found strong currents setting to the North-Eastward, and to the south of it the currents sets to the South and South-Westward. The only anchorage which the Island of Cocos affords is on the Northern side, where are situated two bays ; but the easternmost is by far the most preferable ; the Island also affords some trivial refreshments in cocoa-nuts, fish etc ; but, from the excellent state of health the crew of the two vessels then enjoyed, those things but little attracted our attention.

From The Island of Cocos, by adverse winds, calms, etc our progress to the Southward was excessively slow. On the 2^d of February we fell in with two small Islands, bearing from each

other N 42 W, and S 42 E ; distant twenty-eight miles : between these we passed, having a very rapid current setting to the westward and N.W. which, with variable and baffling winds detained us in sight of them until the 5th. The southernmost of these Islands, which is the largest, is about four or five miles in circuit, situated in latitude $1^{\circ} 21' 30''$ N and longitude $268^{\circ} 16'$ E^t : and at daylight on the 6th a more extensive land was discovered, composed of four remarkable lofty table-mountains, and a round peaked mountain forming its N.W. extremity ; the most projecting part of the latter is situated in latitude $2'$ North and longitude $268^{\circ} 30'$ E^t ; and from it lies a remarkable high rock, in a direction N.6. W. true, distant 11 miles ; we passed along the western side of this land, and saw it's shores extending from the above point N 30 E, 16 miles ; and to the southward, from the same station ; nearly South, true, to the latitude $30' S^{\circ}$ where terminates its S.W. point, having another high Island lying in a S.S.E. direction, about six leagues from it ; but this latter is by no means so extensive as the former, which forms on its western side an extensive bay, where about two leagues to the Eastward, and on the Southern side of the above N.W. point is a cove that appeared favourable for affording good anchorage. About this Island we saw many whales ; the shores abounded also with seals and penguins innumerable ; but the land seemed entirely composed of volcanic matter, and nearly destitute of wood and verdure, excepting towards the summit of some of the mountains, which in general bore a more verdant appearance than the land towards the shores : our time was occupied in passing this land until the 9th. when the trade wind reached us, with which we made the best of our way to the Southward, without any remarkable occurrence taking place until Sunday the 7th of March, when, in latitude $28^{\circ} 50'$ S. and longitude $259^{\circ} 3'$ E^t in a squall of wind, we discovered the head of the main mast to be so badly sprung, about eight feet below the hounds, that with every security which was possible to be given to it at sea, we were only able to carry on it the Mizen-top-mast and Mizen-top-sail, and even these with much caution, particularly as the main-mast had, in two former instances complained, and in the present seemed not only very badly sprung, but rotten also.

A disaster of so serious a nature, which required the utmost dispatch in remedying, left no room to doubt what measures to

pursue in order to effect that purpose ; but in consequence of their Lordships' very strong injunctions respecting my visiting any of these ports, I submitted the same to the consideration of my officers, who were unanimously of opinion that, for the good of His Majesty's Service, it was indispensably necessary that I should repair to the nearest port, for the purpose of procuring a new main-mast, since the disabled one, with every repair which it was possible to give it, would still be very ineffectual to the service of its' office ; and from the little information which is to be gained from the publication of the journals of former visitors to the coast of Chili and Peru, this port, being the nearest, seemed likewise the more likely to answer the desired purpose ; for which therefore I directed our route, and arrived on the 26th in the afternoon ; and had the pleasure of experiencing from Sr Dⁿ Lewis de Alava, the Governor of the Port, a friendly and hospitable reception ; but was at the same time informed that no steps could be taken for repairing our damages, etc, further than enquiries would go, until the cause of our putting into this port and the succours we required were laid before His Excellency, Sr Dⁿ Ambe Higgins Valanar, the President and Captain General of the Kingdom of Chili, to whom I therefore immediately dispatched an express to that effect ; at the same time soliciting his aid and indulgence to execute in this port such business as our necessities required.

In the mean time I made every necessary enquiry, and had the mortification of finding that it was impossible to procure a new Main-mast, either in this or any other port on the Coast of Chili ; nor at Lima was there more than a distant probability of being more successful ; it was therefore evident that we should be under the necessity of employing such remedies only as our own resources were capable of supplying, in case we should be fortunate enough in procuring the permission of His Excellency the President to that effect : which in the forenoon of the 29th., I had the very great satisfaction of receiving, replete with every degree of friendship, hospitality and politeness. At the same time directions were given to the Governor to relieve our wants, and render us every service the country was capable of bestowing, not only in point of our public transactions, but also by laying no restraint whatever on our communication with the shore. Our visit to this port was made as pleasant as the nature

of our anxious situation could possibly admit of; and under these very agreeable circumstances, I came to the determination, whilst our mast was repairing, of refitting the *Discovery* and *Chatham* with such stores and provisions, as would be necessary for our passage to England, without calling at the Cape of Good Hope, which otherwise would have been indispensibly necessary.

All these necessary duties were therefore immediately put into a train of execution, and on the Main-mast being got out we had the mortification of finding it in a worse condition than we expected; from the spring towards the head the mast was much damaged, particularly under the cheeks; but we had fortunately on board two stout fishes, with which, and by shortening the mast about three feet and turning it end for end, in order to bring the most defective part below the lower deck, we have added every security to the mast our situation is capable of affording; yet I doubt it is not much to be depended on, as that part now forming the mast head has also been found to be a little rotten; nor has our disaster rested in the defects of the Main-mast only; but having got that in, on rigging the main-yard it was found rotten, nearly half through in the centre, which has been the cause of our longer detention in this port than would have otherwise been necessary, as the only means we had of remedying that defect was by making a temporary yard out of a spare main-top-mast, and the yard arms of the decayed yard; which, I am sorry to observe, are not perfectly sound, though I trust we shall find them, with proper care and attention, answer the purposes of our voyage home; yet at the same time I am very apprehensive that under these disadvantages I shall not be able finally to execute that part of my commission which, on my return home, I am ordered to take cognisance of: this failure, however, may probably in some measure be made amends for by such information on that subject as I may be able to acquire.

The transacting of these services has fully occupied our time, during our residence in this port; and it was not until this morning that the main-yard was received on board, when the Ships were got in readiness for the sea, it being my intentions to sail on the morrow.

Such being the circumstances of our situation, I must beg leave to crave their Lordships' indulgence for a moment to point out a liberty which necessity has induced me to take in drawing on the

Navy-Board for a sum of money ; far beyond the expences incurred to the government for the refitting of the *Discovery* and *Chatham* :—this I have presumed to do in consequence of the impossibility of procuring in this Kingdom any money for private bills, or through any other means than the Royal Chest of Chili, on which I could only draw on the account of the British government : therefore, from the distressed situation to which both myself and officers are reduced, in consequence of the length of our voyage, for want of most of the common necessities of life, I have included the amount of the sum we required in the before-mentioned bills ; which liberty I trust their Lordships' goodness will pardon ; at the instant of my arrival in England, which I suppose cannot be long after this letter makes it appearance, the ballance due to the government shall be immediately paid.

My present situation affords nothing farther to communicate for the information of their Lordships than my most grateful acknowledgements for the weighty obligations conferred on us by the unbounded civility, and the friendly, hospitable, and polite behavior we have experienced on all occasions from the inhabitants of this Kingdom : and on which occasion I cannot sufficiently extol the unremitting attention and anxious concern for our welfare and happiness, which in every instance has been most strongly manifested on the part of His Excellency the President. This gentleman is a native of Ireland, about sixty five years of age gradually promoted to his present rank in the military service of His Catholic Majesty ; and through the channel of whose politeness I have had the honor, accompanied by some of my Officers, of visiting St Jago, the capital of Chili, and passing a few very pleasant days with his Excellency at his pallace.

The city of St Jago is situated about ninety miles from this port ; where, the reception and entertainment we experienced, during our short stay, far exceeded our most sanguine expectations, and afforded a degree of gratification not easily to be described ; nor have the inhabitants of Valparaiso been less attentive in their endeavours to render our stay among them as agreeable as possible. For such favors we are doubtless highly indebted, not only to the good disposition of our friends the inhabitants towards us, but likewise the very gracious and attentive manner in which we have been received and treated by His Excellency the President.

Inclosed is an account of the state and Condition of His Majesty's Vessels under my command.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient humble St

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[This letter was probably dictated by Vancouver to Sykes.]

48.

[On outside of MS. is written :

Rendezvous for Staten Land &
St. Helena.

Not to be opened—
but in case of
separation etc.

} On His Majesty's Service.

Lieut. Puget
commanding His Majesty's
Armed Tender
Chatham.

N.B. The Rendezvous signal made alone, signifies to open this, and perform such service therein directed, as shall not then have been executed.

Opened. Noon June 8th 1795
the Vessels having Separated. P. P.]
Rendezvous.

In case of separation between this and the meridian of Staten Land ; You are to repair to New-Year's Harbour ; where having completed your wood, water, etc and gaining no intelligence of me. You are to proceed to St. Helena, in order to take the protection of the convoy from Thence to England : which advantage you will embrace in failure of my not joining you by that time : leaving for my information an account of your proceedings, and a copy of such surveys as you may have made during our separation : taking care also, prior to your arrival at St. Helena, to put into execution their Lordships' orders respecting the journals, charts, drawings, etc of the Officers and persons under your command.

Dated on board His Majesty's Sloop
Discovery at sea, 17th May, 1795.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

To Lieut. Puget
commanding His Majesty's
Armed Tender *Chatham.*

49.

Vancouver : Discovery, in the Shannon.

13 Sept. 1795.

To *Evan Nepean Esq.*

SIR,—Having by my order dated the 12th. September, 1795, (a copy of which I herewith inclose) directed Mr Archibald Menzies, Surgeon of His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* under my command, and officiating also in the capacity of a Botanist, to deliver to me the Journal, which he has kept during the voyage, together with such charts, drawings, etc. as he may have made relative thereto ; you will be pleased to acquaint their Lordships of his having refused to comply therewith ; and his answer to that effect I enclose for their Lordships' consideration,

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obed^t humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Enclosure 1.

(copy)

By *George Vancouver Esq.*,Commander of His Majesty's Sloop
Discovery.

In compliance with the orders of my Lords commissioners of the Admiralty, I demanded from you on the 2^d of July last, the journals you had kept, with the charts, drawings, etc. which you have made relative to the voyage ; at which time you requested that the same (for their more perfect completion) might be suffered to remain in your possession during our passage to Europe, which request I have thus complied with ; and the coast of Ireland being now in sight, I desire that the same may, in the course of this day, be delivered to me, agreeable to the above orders, which you heard communicated on the said 2^d of July to the officers and crew of His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* under my command. For which this shall be your order.

Given under my hand on board
His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*
at Sea, 12th September 1795.

(signed) GEO. VANCOUVER.

To Mr *Archibald Menzies*

Surgeon of His Majesty's
Sloop *Discovery*.

Enclosure 2.

Discovery at Sea

Sept. 12th 1795.

SIR,—I have received your Order of this day's date, Addressed to me as Surgeon of His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*; Demanding my Journals, Charts, drawings etc of the Voyage, but I can assure you, that, in that capacity, I kept no other Journals than the Sick-book, which is ready to be delivered up if you think it necessary.

I perfectly recollect the Orders of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty being read on the 2^d of July last, and also the conversation which I afterwards had with you, relative to the mode of conveying the Journals, Papers, Drawings etc. I have kept of the Voyage in compliance with my Original Instructions, to the Secretary of State's Office; but situated as I am at present I trust you are not insensible of the necessity which urges me to Act with more caution in this respect, I therefore beg leave to acquaint you that I do not conceive myself authorized to deliver up these Journals etc. to anyone till they are demanded of me, by the Secretary of State for the home department, agreeable to the tenor of my Instructions, of which I believe you have a copy, if not, mine is at Your perusal—

I am

Sir,

Your most Obed^t Humble Serv^t

ARCHIBALD MENZIES.

Vancouver: *Discovery* Deptford.

24 Oct 1795.

To Evan Nepean.

SIR,—Mr. Menzies, Surgeon of His Majesty's Sloop under my command, having made an ample apology for his conduct to me on the 28th of July last; I am to request their Lordships will be pleased to permit me to withdraw the application I had made for a Court-Martial, on that account,

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Note :—' 26 Oct. own rec^t & acquaint him that his request will be complied with.']

50.

Draft to the Lds. Comm^{rs} of the Ayr
re Banks' Instruct^{ns} to Menzies.

23 Feb. 1791.

MY LORDS,—I transmit to your Lordships herewith, in addition to my Letter to you of the 11th Instant, a copy of instructions which have at my desire been prepared by Sir. Jos. Banks and given to Mr. Menzies the Botanist who has embarked on board the *Discovery*, for the regulation of his conduct, and I am to request that they may be communicated to the commander of that ship.

As the service which Mr Menzies has been directed to perform is materially connected with some of the most important objects of the expedition, it is necessary that the Commanding Officer should be instructed generally to afford him on all occasions every degree of assistance in the performance of the duty which the circumstances of the expedition will admit—and particularly with respect to the following points. The commanding Officer should be directed to accomodate Mr. Menzies with a Boat for the purpose of pursuing his researches at the several places which may be visited, at all times when the necessary duties of the Ship will admit of his being spared, and to order that the crew of such Boat may assist him either in carrying his heavy luggage, bringing earth, or any other services which may be necessary to be done during his excursions on shore, and to cause Mr. Menzies to be supplied from time to time with a due proportion, both in quantity and quality, of the merchandize put on board, in order to enable him, as occasion may require, to obtain any necessary assistance from the Natives in fulfilling the objects of his Mission.

It will also be necessary that your Lordships should direct the Captain of the *Discovery* to take on board such quantities of Water as may, from time to time, be likely to be wanted, for the nourishment of the plants which Mr. Menzies may collect, and to supply him with the same in such proportion as may be requisite and compatible with the other necessary demands for that Article. That he is also to allow Mr. Menzies to have the sole charge and custody of the plants which he may collect, and to direct that care may be taken that neither Dogs or any other animals, or property belonging to any others persons be suffered to be put into the Frame within which the plants are intended to be deposited, and that particular care may be taken, in case the glass

of such Frame should from any accident be broken, that the same may immediately be repaired, and that during the time it is necessary to keep the said Frame open, for the convenience of admitting air or rain to the plants no animals likely to do mischief to them, be suffered to be loose in the ship.

51.

Vancouver : Discovery, Deptford.

23rd Oct. 1795.

To Evan Nepean Esq.,

SIR,—Captain Faulkner of His Majesty's Ship the *Diana*, having directed seven men to be sent from His Majesty's Sloop the *Discovery*, on board the *Busbridge* East Indiaman, for the purpose mentioned in the inclosed order ; I am to request you will be pleased to acquaint their Lordships, that on sending for Them on the arrival of that ship in Longreach, I was informed that they had been impressed from her in the Downs ; but by what Officer, or to what Ship they were sent, I have not been able to learn.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your very humble Serv^t

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Note across corner : ' 24 Oct. He must send a list of their names that the necessary inquiry may be made of the Adm^l in The Downs. ']

Enclosure.

*By Jonathan Faulkner Esq.,
Captain of His Majesty's Ship
Diana & Senior Officer in
Command of*

Vancouver : Discovery, Deptford.

23rd Oct. 1795.

To Evan Nepean Esq.

SIR,—Agreeable to the directions of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty I transmit to you the several Log-Books and Journals kept by the Officers and others persons on board His Majesty's Sloop under my command, during her late voyage, which will be delivered by M^r Robert Barrie, and of which the enclosed is a list.

And I am to request you will be pleased to move their

Lordships, to grant an order to dispense with the production of such as might be otherwise necessary, at the Navy Office, for the purpose of passing my accounts and those of the Officers : as well as for those of the midshipmen which are usually required previous to passing their examination.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very humble Serv^t

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Note in corner : ' 24 Oct: orders accordingly—Let him know it. ']

Enclosure.

Discovery's Log-Books and Journals

Lieutenant Joseph Baker

„ Spelman Swaine

„ Thomas Manby

M^r Joseph Whidbey, Master

M^r Robert Barrie

„ Jⁿ Sykes

„ Jⁿ Stewart

Honble. Charles Stuart

M^r. Robert Pigot

„ George Charles McKenzie

„ Edwin Charlton Harris

„ Volant Vashon Ballard

„ Thomas James Dobson

„ Jⁿ Aisley Brown

„ Edward Roberts

„ Henry Masterman Orchard

Vancouver : Discovery, Deptford.

27 Oct. 1795.

To Evan Nepean Esq.

SIR,—Understanding that their Lordships' Order of the 17th inst. directing me to turn over the petty-officers and foremastmen of the *Discovery* into His Majesty's Ship *Caroline*, comprehends the Master Mates and midshipmen ; I beg you will be pleased to represent to their Lordships that almost all these gentlemen, (of whom I enclose a list) have served their time in the Navy, and are desirous of passing their examination at the Navy-Office, as soon as maybe. As their joining the *Caroline* therefore, may be

attended with great inconvenience, and as I am fully persuaded that not one of them has the most distant intention of quitting His Majesty's service, I trust their Lordships will be pleased, in consideration of their peculiar situation, to except them from the general order for discharging the *Discovery's* company into the *Caroline*.

I am also to request the like indulgence for the two persons, whose names I have subjoined to the list of the gentlemen, who have attended on me during the voyage, and been considered as my servants.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very humble Serv^t,

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Encl^{re}

A List of the Master's Mates and Midshipmen on board His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*.

M ^r Robert Barrie	}	Master's Mates
M ^r Jn ^o Stewart		
M ^r Jn ^o Sykes		

M ^r Edwin Charlton Harris	}	Mid ⁿ
Honble Charles Stuart		
M ^r Jn ^o Aisley Browne		
M ^r Edw ^d Roberts		

M^r Thomas James Dobson

Benjamin Reeves

Wm. Wooderson

[Minute—'29^h Oct. Order to comply with his desire Let him know it']

Vancouver : *Discovery*, Deptford.

30th Oct, 1795.

To Evan Nepean Esq.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 27th inst : signifying to me the directions of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to state to you the circumstances of the case of Henry Phillips, Carpenter of the *Discovery*, who was sent home when the ship was at Nootka Sound ; and in reply I am to acquaint you, that in consequence of the very insolent and disrespectful behavior of Mr. Phillips to me on the 19th of March 1792, I judged it necessary

to suspend him from his duty ; and, being determined to take the earliest opportunity of applying to their Lordships to direct a court-martial to try him for the said offence, I appointed one of the Carpenter's Mates of the *Discovery* to act as Carpenter of her.

On my arrival at Nootka, I found the *Dædalus* Transport ; and judging it would be an eligible opportunity of sending the Carpenter to England, by the way of New South Wales, to which place the *Dædalus* was bound, he was accordingly put on board her the 9th Sep^r 1792 as a prisoner, for that purpose ; and at the same time, I transmitted to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty a letter containing the charges against him, together with the written evidence of Lieutenant Puget, and two of the midshipmen of the *Discovery*, who were present at the time the offence was committed, and requested that their Lordships would be pleased in consequence thereof, to direct a Court-Martial.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—' 31 Oct. send up the written Evidence of Lt. Puget and the two Midⁿ referred to herein.']

Vancouver : Discovery, Deptford.

31 Oct 1795.

To Evan Nepean Esq.

SIR,—His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* under my command, being cleared of her stores and provisions, and in readiness to be delivered in to the charge of the Officers of Deptford Yard ; and their Lordships having directed me to turn over the petty Officers and foremastmen into His Majesty's Ship *Caroline* : I am to request you will be pleased to inform me by what conveyance I am to send them to that ship.

I am also to request their Lordships directions relative to the party of Marines serving on board the *Discovery*.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very humble Serv^t

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—' 1 Nov : To be landed to join their division ' Cap^t Luke to send for them Orders accordingly to Cap Luke.']

Vancouver : No 11 Piccadilly.

10 Nov. 1795.

To Evan Nepean.

SIR, — I am honored with your letter of yesterday acquainting me that Mr. Phillips Carpenter of the *Discovery* Sloop, has appeared at the Nore in order to take his trial at a Court-Martial so soon as the proper witnesses are sent down by me but in consequence of my being on half pay and the witnesses named on the other side being totally from under my command ; I am to request you will move their Lordships that directions are given to the said Witnesses in order to obtain their attendance accordingly.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect.

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Witnesses to the behaviour etc. of M^r Phillips, Carpenter of the *Discovery*.

Cap ^t Peter Puget	}	to be heard of at James Sykes'
Lieu ^t Robert Barrie		Arandal Street, Strand.

Lieu^t Ballard of H.M. Ship *Poupee*.

[Minute—' 11 Nov. Acquaint Adm^l Buckner & that the witnesses will immediately be collected. orders accordingly to Sir Peter Parker for Lt. Ballard & to the Offc^{rs} in town acq^t Cap. Vancouver.']

Vancouver : No 22 Arundel Street.

20 Nov. 1795.

To Evan Nepean.

SIR;—Captain Puget, Lieutenant Robert Barrie, my late Clerk, M^r Henry Masterman Orchard, and myself, having been at considerable expence in attending the trial of M^r Henry Phillips, late Carpenter of the *Discovery*, at Sheerness, on account of the distance from town and the trial being deferred until after the *Discovery* was paid off, as appears by the inclosed account : I am to request you will be pleased to submit this matter to their Lordships consideration, and request their Lordships will be pleased to direct that we may be re-imbursed the same.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Enclosure

An account of expences incurred by Captains Vancouver & Puget, Lieutenant Robert Barrie, and M^r Henry Masterman Orchard, in attending The Court-Martial held on M^r Henry Phillips, late Carpenter of the *Discovery*, at Sheerness, the 17th Nov. 1795. Viz.—

Captain Vancouver	£6. 9. 0.
„ Puget	7. 10. 0.
Lieut ^t Barrie	7. 10. 0.
M ^r Henry Masterman Orchard ...	3. 14. 0.

25. 3. 0.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—‘ 25 Nov. What instances appear of Officers having been paid under these circumstances. 5 Dec. Navy Board to pay reasonable expences on their delivering in their accounts.’]

Vancouver : Discovery, Longreach.

21 Oct. 1795.

To Evan Nepean Esq.,

SIR,—A seaman, named Matthew Brown, having in September last, delivered himself up to me, at Nootka Sound, as a deserter from His Majesty’s Ship the *Alfred*; and the *Discovery* being at that time short of her complement; I entered him on her books;

His conduct, since being on board this ship, having been such as to merit my approbation and being also a very good seaman, I am induced to intercede with their Lordships in his behalf; and hope their Lordships will approve of what I have done in bearing him as part of the *Discovery*’s complement.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your very humble Serv^t

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Note, across corner & turned up—‘ 22 Oct. I approve of him Bearing him on the sloop’s Books under The circumstance .’ No signature.]

52.

Vancouver : No 22 Arundel Street.

19, Decem^r 1795.

To Evan Neapean.

SIR,—In the different visits to the Sandwich Islands, during my

late voyage in His Majesty's sloop *Discovery*, I found certain British seamen, who had settled at those Islands among the native-inhabitants; and conceiving that their remaining among the Indians might in future be of considerable advantage to such of His Majesty's subjects whose occasions might draw them thither, by their learning the language, and acting as interpreters between the Indians and ourselves; I deemed it expedient to afford them such assistance as my situation admitted of; and for this purpose I supplied them with sundry slop-clothes from the *Discovery*, an Account of which I take the liberty to inclose; as also of a few articles supplied to the Sandwich Islander whom we carried from England, and the Chief of Owwhyhee, from whom we experienced on all occasions the most friendly and hospitable treatment. I am to request you will be pleased to submit this matter to their Lordships consideration, and hope their Lordships will be pleased to direct that the same may be allowed in my account at the Navy Slop-Office.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very humble St

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—' 21 Dec. own rec. Orders to Navy Bd. accordingly.']

Vancouver : No 22 Arundel Street.

17th Decem^r 1795.

To Evan Nepean.

SIR,—Having judged it necessary at certain times during my late voyage in His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*, to direct that the seamen, when employed in the boats on distant service, should be indulged with an extra allowance of spirits, when, from the inclemency of the weather, the Officer commanding on those occasions should deem it expedient, I am to request you will be pleased to move their Lordships to direct that I may be allowed the quantity so issued, being twenty gallons, on my account at the Victualling Office.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your very humble Serv^t

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—' 21 Dec. own rec^t & give orders accordingly.']

Tv

53.

Downing Street, Jan 22. 1796.

MY LORD,—Having transmitted to the Lords of the Admiralty for their consideration, the complaint preferred by the Chevalier de las Casas, against Captain Vancouver, for his Conduct in refusing to re-imburse the Viceroy of Mexico, the Expences that had been incurred by several Deserters from His Majesty's Ship under his Command in the South Sea, I have received from their Lordships an answer, enclosing a Letter from Captain Vancouver in which he States the Circumstances of the Case.

I inclose to your Excellency Copies of their Lordships Answer, and of Capt. Vancouver's Letter, in order that you may be enabled to represent the Case as therein stated, to the Spanish Ministry; and to do away the Misunderstanding which appears to have arisen concerning it.

I am, with great Truth & Respect

My Lord

Your Excellency's

Most obedient

humble Servant.

GRENVILLE.

*To His Excellency
The Earl of Bute.*

Encl. 1.

Admiralty Office, Jan 9, 1796.

SIR,—Having by direction of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty transmitted to Captain Vancouver, the Copy of a Letter from the Chevalier de las Casas the Spanish Ambassador; inclosed in M^r Aust's Letter to me of the 15th Ultimo complaining of that officer's Conduct in refusing to reimburse the Vice Roy of Mexico, the Expences incurred by several Deserters from His Majesty's Ship under his Command when in the South Sea, with directions to him to state the circumstances of the case, which he having accordingly done in his Letters of the 6th Inst; I am commanded by their Lordships to send you herewith a Copy thereof for Lord Grenville's information, and to acquaint you that orders are given to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy for paying the charges incurred for the subsistence of the three

Deserters Therein mentioned whenever a demand shall be made for the same, by the Agents of the Spanish Government.

I am etc

EVAN NEPEAN.

Geo. Hammond Esq.

Encl. 2. (Copy)

Bristol Hot Wells, 6 Jan, 1796.

SIR,—I was yesterday honored with your Letter dated Admiralty 28th Dec. 1795, inclosing 2 Letters, one from the Spanish Ambassador to Lord Grenville, the other from M^r Aust, stating the former as a letter of Complaint preferred against my Conduct by the Vice Roy of Mexico, alledging that I had refused to reimburse His Exc^y the Vice Roy the Expences incurred for the maintenance etc of 5 Deserters at the Port of Monterry on the Coast of New Albion. In reply to which I am to request you will inform the Lords Commrs of the Admiralty that the whole of the said Transactions have been transmitted by me at three different periods for their Lordships' information.

For their Lordships better information however it may be necessary to state the principles by which I was actuated in this Transaction ; In the 1st place I must beg leave to notice that I had no intercourse or correspondence with the Vice Roy of Mexico (who was several hundred miles distant) on the subject of defraying the expences in question which were of a Nature totally new to me. I did not know under what head to charge for them or on whom to give drafts for the Money, nor had I a sufficient sum by me to liquidate the Debt, nor did I conceive I was authorized to do so even if I had been possessed of the means, this I pointed out to St Col^t Borica, as also to Brig^r Gen^l Alava the Governor of Nootka, Gentlemen of strong understanding, particularly the latter who was privy to all my Transactions with Gov^r Borica ; these Gentlemen considered the subject matter in question but of trivial import, I assured them that on my arrival in England, I would immediately refer the business to the consideration of the Lords Comrs of the Adm^{ty} by whom there could be no doubt but the matter would be adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties.

Governor Borica then requested that in reply to his letter I would state these circumstances as also my reason for not receiving the 5 foreigners which was accordingly done, & there

the Matter rested to all appearance finally compromised to the wishes and desires of all parties, myself and officers, continuing to live on the strictest terms of intimacy & friendship not only with those gentlemen but also the whole of the Inhabitants of the place to the latest moment of our stay which was I believe about a fortnight or 3 weeks during which period nothing further on this subject transpired.

My Reasons for not receiving the Dane and the two Portuguese, were in the first place their being Foreigners who said they did not wish to go on board the English Vessels unless forced to do so, they were also deserters from a Merchant Ship and under such circumstances I conceived them totally out of my control, nor were the Spaniards at all solicitous (to my knowledge) about their departure, particularly about the Dane's, who was an excellent Sailmaker a Business much in request among them. Such are, Sir, the particular heads of the transaction so far as my Memory at present serves me. Instead therefore of refusing to reimburse the Viceroy of Mexico the Expences incurred by Atchison the Armourer & Langdon one of the Marines of the *Chatham* as also Smith, (a convict who had secreted himself on board the *Dedalus* at Port Jackson & after rejoining me deserted at the Port of St Diego, from the said Store Ship) I conceived by my different representations to their Lordships, in compliance with the promise I had made the Spanish Officers, that I had pursued every step for causing Justice to be done on the part of His Majesty's Subjects, & that the labour of the foreigners, who remained behind, would be the means of discharging such Sums as they were indebted.

I have the honor to be etc

GEO. VANCOUVER.

54.

Vancouver : New Bond Street No 142.

March y^e 25th 1796.

To Evan Nepean. Esq.,

SIR,—It having been communicated to me that it is the wish of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I should prepare for the Publick information, the result of the labours of the Voyage I had lately the honor of executing in His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* accompanied by the *Chatham* Armed Tender :

and my journals, with most of my Charts and Drawings, having been delivered up to me for that particular purpose; I am to request you will be pleased to move their Lordships, that directions are given for such remaining Drawings & Charts as were constructed on Board the *Discovery* & *Chatham*, during the said voyage; now lodged in M^r Dalrymples Office; should be delivered to me for the purpose aforesaid; and as I am given to understand that in the instances of Captains Cook & King, the Government defrayed certain expences of the Publications; I humbly solicit Their Lordships indulgence to grant to me the same advantages, as likewise that they would communicate their pleasure, as to the particular persons they would please to employ, about the Drawings, Engravings, Etc; or whether they will approve of my fixing on such Artists of known abilities as are necessary to execute that part of the work in question.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute on loose leaf—‘ 26 Mar. own rec^d and acquaint him that their Ldps mean to give him every reasonable advantage from (?) the publication*, & will immediately fix upon the Charts & Views which they think ought to be annexed to the (— ?) In the mean time their Ldps have given directions for the delivery of the Journals etc now in M^r Dalrymples possession.

* which they can do consistently with a due attention to the claims of other persons employed during the Voyage.’]

55.

Vancouver : Petersham, Surrey.

July 4th 1796.

To Evan Nepean.

SIR,—Having received no positive reply to my letters of the 25th of March and 5th of April last, but understanding verbally that it is their Lordships wish to be informed as to the expence and persons capable of being employed in providing the Plates that are to represent the Charts and Views of head lands and Islands, that are necessary to accompany the account I am preparing for the Publick information, of the transactions of the late

Voyage of His Majesty's Sloop the *Discovery*, and Armed Tender the *Chatham*, intrusted to my charge and execution.

I am to request you will do me the honor of presenting to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the inclosed estimate ; which so far as it respects the labour of the engravers, must not be considered as final, or conclusive ; since those artists only propose rough estimates untill their work is finished ; and I sincerely trust Their Lordships will grant me the liberty of observing, that in instances of a similar nature ; I understand a sum of about three Thousand Pounds, was granted by Government in aid of the publication of Captain Cooks last Voyage ; & which M^r Dundas, considering as a precedent, wrote to the Chairman of the India Company for the payment of a like sum in aid of the present publication of the British Embassy to China. The Voyage of the *Discovery* & *Chatham* hath not been attended with the Publick expense of professional persons either in the Character of Astronomer, or of a Draftsman ; which the voyages of Captain Cook were all liable to ; yet I trust that through my exertions, the objects to be derived from those branches of service will be found accomplished to all their necessary purposes ; as likewise, that the principal Nautical Object of the expedition hath been so attained, as to prove conclusive, against the necessity of incurring any future expense, in search of a water communication between the North Pacific & Atlantic Oceans ; at least so far as was comprehended within the limits of my commission.

In the inclosed estimate, no notice is taken as to the expense of the letter [?] proofs which will require a very considerable sum of money ; or of any characteristic drawings which I conceive will be found essentially necessary to the illustration of the work ; and I most ardently hope that their Lordships goodness will excuse my mentioning these circumstances ; as also that the expense attending on a publication of this Nature is in every respect infinitely increased since the publication of Captain Cooks Voyages ; nor will the work I shall be able to bring forward, be likely to find so many purchasers, in the present day ; as was the case some years ago. In addition to which the service I have thus performed, hath been, and still is attended with heavy expenses, to which the Voyages of Captain Cook was in no one respect liable. Particularly my not having received, or being able for some time to come, to receive ; any of the money due to me from

the Government since December 1790; and the situation in which I was placed with the subjects of the Crown of Spain, on our various visits to their different establishments, where in compliance with my instructions; I used every means in my power to cultivate and establish with them a friendly intercourse, in which object I believe I was fortunate enough to succeed, though accomplished at a very material expense. This latter I have represented to the Secretary of States Office, but find no prospect of any reimbursement.

I do not however wish to insinuate in the most distant degree, that any sum, or part of any sum of money, which their Lordships may think proper to grant in aid of this Publication; should be appropriated to private or any other purposes than such as their Lordships may expressly direct; but I have embraced this opportunity of laying before them the real state of the business I am engaged in; and at the same time, to point out that the execution of this publick service hath on my part, been attended with a good deal of private expense; there by hoping through their Lordships generous aid, to be enabled to lay out a sufficient sum of money on the publication in question to render it more finished work than my own private finances will allow.

I therefore most humbly solicit that you will be pleased to move Their Lordships, to do me the honor of taking these matters into consideration, in order that I may be informed to what extent, and in what respect they will be pleased to afford any pecuniary aid in bringing forward the said publication; so that the different artists may be employed and the business executed with all the despatch its nature will allow.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir,

Your most Obedient humble
Servant

GEO. VANCOUVER.

[Minute—(1) ' 27 July—Let him know that he is at liberty to employ proper people to engrave the Charts, and that their Ldps will upon each plate being completed order the Expence thereof to be defrayed, and that their Ldps will hereafter decide upon the views which are to be engraved.]

(2) ' 5 July—Let me see what was done in the instances of Capt. Cookes voyages—

‘ Nothing whatever was done in the Lords Letter Book ’
(this is crossed out).

‘ The expence of publishing Capt Cookes’ Voyage was paid out of the Contingencies of this Office, as appears by the Account now remaining in the Navy Office ; and the Trades-people who were employed in executing the several Engravings, were paid as they finished their business.’]

56.

Vancouver, Petersham.

15 March 1797.

To James Sykes, Arundel Street, Strand.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with yours of yesterday and beg leave to inform you, from the Channel through which I acquired the information respecting certain memorials, I do not view it in that light of an impossibility with which it is regarded by you. If the investigation is to stand over until I can personally attend to it, most likely the whole business will be settled long ere that period arrive, as although I am undoubtedly in a recovering state it will be some months before I shall be able to venture a visit to London.

Your kind advice respecting my attending to nothing but my health, is most friendly and just, but at the same time it is highly important, that attention should likewise be paid to the means of supporting that health when acquired : independently of this consideration, the ascertaining & refuting the *falsehood* in Question, is an *indispensable duty*, which I owe to all those, whom at the time I had the honor to command—and as it appears to be so fully within your power to gain a sight of the paper in Question I hope, and trust you will have the goodness to make immediately the necessary enquiry which will greatly oblige.

Dear Sir

Yours very sincerely

GEO. VANCOUVER.

PS.—As writing is exceedingly pernicious to my present indisposition my brother who is here had been good enough to write this letter for me.

I this morning received a very favourable answer from Lord Spencer in reply to an application I made on Monday last in favour of Roberts’s promotion, wherein his Lordship says ‘ he

shall be glad to take an early opportunity of giving M^r Roberts a commission.'

Yours very truly

G. V.

[This letter has perplexed the present writer, since from its context it appears that Vancouver in 1797 was involved in some charge against which he obviously meant to defend himself; but what that charge was, and the upshot of the affair, must await further research.]



COPY OF VANCOUVER'S WILL

Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Captain GEORGE VANCOUVER being desirous of making arrangements of his property has declared before us this twenty-eighth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight that he revoked all former wills and that after paying a legacy of twenty five pounds to his agent Mr Sykes he gave to his elder Brother John Vancouver the rest of his property which is now about to be engaged in the purchase and improvement of Ealing Manor in Berks subject to the payment of fifty pounds per annum to his brother Charles Vancouver and of twenty five pounds per annum to each of his sisters Sarah and Mary Vancouver during each of their natural lives and that in the event of his brother Charles Vancouver dying before both or either of his sisters then the annuity of fifty pounds per annum so given to him Charles Vancouver to be equally divided between his two said sisters Sarah and Mary Vancouver.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

David Dundas, Witness. Granville Penn, Witness.

Administration (with Will).

Granted 22nd August 1798.

[The form of this will is peculiar. Vancouver appointed no Executors. According to the law of that time, the consequence of this omission would be that the Probate Court (in that day the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury) could only grant Administration with the will annexed—*cum testamento annexo*. This court would appoint an administrator to carry out the terms of the will. The apparent irregular form of the will is accounted for by the date of it, 1798. The Wills Act was not passed until 1833.]

THE HISTORY OF THE

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

THOMAS EDGAR'S STORY

Journal of Thos. Edgar.

Feb. 14, 1779.

P.M. Blacking the Yards Mastheads & repairing the Rigging abt 5 in the afternoon an Indian was daring enough to rin in amidst the people working at the Forge & snatch up a pair of Tongs & Chisle belonging to the Armourers and with them Jump'd over Board. he Got into a Canoe. and was making for the Shore, when Par-rea desir'd that he may go. and apprehand the Thief. I being order'd by Capt. Clarke went in the small Cutter, with 2 men & a Midshipman after the Canoe, and fearing she might get on shore before we could come up with her, put of without firearms. there being a constant firing of Muskets from the Ship in order to Stop her, but to no purpose, as she got with her prize on shore, in a small cove, we followed in the Cutter, when another Canoe met us, & brought the Tongs & Chisle, and Lid of the water Cask, the latter we had not miss'd the Pinnacle belonging to the *Resolution* coming to our assistance, & judgeing she was Arm'd, and Seeing Capt. Cooke, Lieut. King and a Marine with his Musket running towards us and Hollowing I row'd into the Cove, with both Boats, & Seized the Thief's Canoe, and was putting her off when Par-rea came & Hindered me, by taking out one of the paddles & Holding her.

I took the paddle from him, he then came behind me, and while I was putting the Canoe off a second time he Seized on me, when one of the pinnacle men, seeing this, up with his Oar & Struck Par-rea on the Head, at that Inst a Shower of Stones came from about 2 or 3 hundred People on a Rising Ground, & soon after Closed on the pinnacle, she being aground Aft, which forc'd the crew to leave the Boat & Swim off to some Rocks a little distance, where our

small Cutter took them in, all this time some of the Natives was Stoning & Beating the Midshipman and me, while the rest was stealing the Oars & furniture belonging to the Boat, I not being able to Swim had got upon a small rock up to my knees in water, when a man came up with a broken Oar, and most certainly would have knocked me off the rock, into the water, if *Mr. Vancouver*, the Midshipman had not at this Inst Step'd out of the Pinnace, between the Indian & me, & received the Blowe, which took him on the side, & knock'd him down,

Another Indian came & beat me with a flat piece of board, which soon split, when Par-rea came up to us and order'd the Mob to Desist & told us to go off with our Boat, but the Oars being all stole prevented us, he told us he would go & fetch them, and soon as he was gone the Mob begun again & seeing them all arming themselves with stones, I told the Midshipman it was not safe staying there, after Par-rea was gone. I told him to follow me, when I got up the Rocks I intended going towards Captain Cooke, but was prevented by three men, who laid hold of me, & told me I should go to Par-rea, being in their power I submitted & went to them, when we came to a little Town, they made me stop, & soon after I saw Par-rea and another man, coming with an Oar & a broken one, when Par-rea came up to us, he told me to go back with him, when he came to the Pinnace I found the Midshipman there, who told me after I went away the Indians came & knock'd him down, Stole his Cap & was striving, to knock the Ring-bolts out of the Stem & Stern of the Boat, we called the small Cutter in who had been all this time laying off out of Stone's throw, we put off with the Pinnace & Cutter, and row'd towards the Tents with both Boats to Acquaint Capt. Cooke of what had happened, on our way there Par-rea came after us in a Canoe & brought with him *Mr. Vancouver's Cap*, & Ask'd if he should come on board in the morning whether we should not hurt him for what had

happened, we answered in the Negative, he then left us & paddled over for the Town called Kavaroa, soon after we met with Capt. Cooke, when I acquainted him of what had happned, and then came on board.

abt 9 Lieut. King was sent by Capt. Cooke on board of us to enquire more particularly into this affair, at daybreak miss'd our large Cutter, which was Moor'd at our small Bower Buoy, sent a boat to see, & found the Painter had been cut, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 Capt. Clarke went on board the *Resolution* to acquaint Capt. Cooke of our loss, at 7 he return'd & orderd all our boats to be Mann'd & Arm'd, the 2nd Lieut. Commanding them, was sent to the South part of the Bay to stop all Canoes from going out the *Resolution's* small Cutter was sent to the West point, & Capt. Cooke went in the Pinnace, attented by the Launch, to the Town Kavaroa, where the King resides while he stays here,

at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 Capt Cooke landed with a Body of 9 Marines and went up to Kar-re-obbo's house, and ask'd him to go on board, which the latter very readily agreed to. the People on Shore were alarm'd at Capt. Cooke's coming with such a Body of Arm'd men to Invite Kar-re-obbo onboard & the Old King had got down to the water's side they prevail'd upon him to go back, one of his Son's was in the Pinnace, waiting for his Father's coming a long time but hearing a Musket fir'd frightned him, so he went on shore, in the meantime, our boats that lay off the south point, had been firing at some Canoes to keep them in, & happned to kill a Chief, whose name is Ker-re-moo, a small Canoe was dispatch'd to tell us of what had happned, & finding we took no notice of what they said but laugh'd at them, they went alongside the *Resolution* to make their complaint, & finding with much the same satisfaction they got from us they went on shore, to the Town of Kavaroa, where Capt. Cooke was while Kar-re-oboo was hesitating whether he should go on board or not a man more officious than the

rest in getting him back to his House was Exceedingly Saucy & behaved in a very Insolent manner to Capt. Cooke, who gave him a load of small Shot. at this the Natives took no notice, but laugh'd & threw Stones, which so enrag'd the Capt. that he shot a man dead with a ball, having a Double Barrel'd Gun, he being told by the Serj. he had shot the wrong man, he then told him to Shoot the Right, this accident happned, made the natives prepare with their Daggars & Spears to revenge the death of the man, one of them I believe was an Aree, & had Capt. Cooke come down to the boats directly as he was advised he most probably would have sav'd his life, but he too wrongly thought as he said that the Flash of a Muskett would disperse the whole Island, led on by these Ideas he hearken'd to no Advice, till it was too late,

the natives closing in & knocking down the Marines Obliged them to fire, at which time the Boats began firing till Capt. Cooke call'd to them to leave off and come in with the Boats, as he was coming down to the water's side a Man came behind him & Knock'd him down with a Clubb on his knee, he immediately got up & rashly went along into the middle of the Crowd followg. the man, who he beat with the but end of his piece, he returned down again, and was close to the water, when another man, named Noo-ah, came behind him, & Stabb'd him in the small of the back, which threw him into the water, he not being able to swim, the Rable seeing this rush'd on with great eagerness to the Marines & kill'd 4, the other 5 firing away their Shot were forc'd to swim off to the Boats leaving their arms behind them,

the Natives pull'd Capt. Cooke's body on the shore, dash'd his head against the Rocks & Stabb'd him in several places, tho at the same time our people were firing at them from the boat & the *Resolution* firing her Great Guns, out of the 5 Marines that swam off 2 were unhurt, the Lieut. of Marines receiv'd a slight wound with a dagger on the

left shoulder, the Serj. too one of the Thigh, & the other on the Head the last was a private man who could not swim, besides having a fractured Skull, would have sunk had not the Lieut. of Marines Jump'd out of the boat & sav'd him, it seems the natives were not ignorant of our intention of seizing the King for while he was hesitating whether he would go on board or not, a man attempt'd to Stabb the Lieut. of Marines with an Iron spike call'd by them a Pahowea, at which the latter by Capt. Cooke's orders only push'd him back with his Gun, after the death of Capt. Cooke it was with great difficulty the Pinnace got off shore, as the natives then were so thick about them as to snatch their arms out of some of their hands the Corpl. of Marines, who was one of them that was kill'd, was beat into the water up to his neck, and not being able to swim turn'd round & discharged his piece, & kill'd the man pursuing him, after this the Indians rush'd in on him & haul'd him upon the Rocks and dashed his head against the Stones till they Kill'd him——

These people take great pains in hideing their Slain, as there was not a Dead man to be seen lying on the shore, tho the Muskets from the Boats must have done great Execution at the same time the great Guns were fir'd from the Ships which one might suppose might intimidate them, as the Echoing under the high land made a terrible noise, but it did not stop them in the least, as they fought with a surprising resolution, and was quite desperate snatching the Iron spikes or Daggars from out of each others hands on purpose to have the satisfaction of Mangling our poor & unhappy Shipmates who they pull'd Neck & heels upon the Rocks the natives were more particularly enraged with Capt. Cooke, who they Crowded round in such a manner, they by the time one man had stabb'd him, another would snatch the spike out of the dead body & give it a fresh wound & after this shocking Scene of Slaughter was ended & the boats had expended the greatest part of their

Ammunition they returned to the resolution with the loss of Capt. Cooke & four Marines and 9 stand of Arms & a double Barreld Gun belonging to the Captain,

abt. 9 Lieut. Williamson came alongside in the *Resolution's* Pinnace, & acquainted Capt. Celrke of the death of Capt. Cooke.

14th p.m.

. . . at 4 sent all the Boats Mann'd & Arm'd from both Ships in shore to the Town of Kavaroa in Order to treat for Capt. Cooke's body, when the boats drew near the Town, the Natives oppos'd them by heaving stones & arming themselves with Clubs, Spears & Stones & putting on their Mats feather'd Caps & Cloaks but as soon as they saw that we Hoist'd a white Flag a signal for peace which they understood very well, they all left off heaving stones & came down to the water side a small boat rowing close in shore asking for the body of Capt. Cooke, but was told by some of the principal people, we should have it in the Morning. the Common people exulted & made signs it was or would be Cut into pieces, they all Appear'd very much pleased at seeing us come in such an humble manner, to sue for the body of our Chief one or two had Bayonets or Swords flourishing in their hands at us.

15th p.m.

. . . This afternoon, was sold the effects of Capt. James Cooke. At 8 o'clock the Centinals on board the *Resolution* fir'd at a small Canoe, with 2 Men in her . . . they proved to be our old friend the priest nam'd Kiré-kea, they brought with them a piece of the Thigh of Capt. Cooke, Seperated from the bone, they were asked whether they Eat the rest of it, or where it was. they told us the rest was not eat, but Kareoboo & the other Arrea's had it Shar'd amongst them, & they were very much enrag'd against us, and made signs by the flinging up his arms & Opening his Eyes that they Boil'd with rage to kill us, and he desir'd that by no means we would go on Shore, for that they were not friends

with us, nor ever would be again, and as for the old priest that came to invite us on shore was not to be trusted.

Capt. Clarke made this man & his Companion an offer to stay on board all Night, at which he seem'd very much frightened & Said he would be kill'd if any body Know'd of his coming & bringing the flesh : from this it seems that Kire-kea either stole this piece or had it given him for his Share, as being one of their Chief priests, and out of friendship, knowing we wanted the remains of our poor and unhappy Commander, brought it off . . . he likewise inform'd us that Capt. Cooke & the other four Men was Cut up the flesh & ribs was burn't, the Heads hands Arms Legs & thigh-bones was sent Kareoboo & Some other Chiefs as trophies it being the manner they treat all their enemies . . . all the Morning the Old priest was coming to the two Ships under cover of a flag of truce, inviting someone or other which he knew to go on shore, saying the Corpse of Capt. Cooke would come to Morrow. . . .

18th p.m.

. . . Abt. 4 a man came down the hill whose name is Eapoo, attended by 12 or 14 more to the Beach. A boat was sent from our Ship to carrie him on board the *Resolution*. he said he came from Kareoboo and calls himself by that name & told us he represented the King he said they wanted to be at peace with us & would bring the bones of Capt. Cooke to Morrow, he staid abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour on board the *Resolution* & then went on shore with Strick'd injunctions laid on him to bring the bones on the next day. . . .

20th

. . . about noon a large party of Indians came down the hill singing a very loud strain & beating a drum as if Mourning they stop'd on the beach and we hoist'd a Union Jack at our Mizzen topmast head, a Signal to the *Resolution*.

$\frac{1}{2}$ past Noon Capt. Clarke & Lieut. King went to meet the Indians on shore in the Pinnace & Cutter & took in the Chief whose name is Yar-poo and two or three other

Chiefs. Yarpoo acts as ambassador & calls himself Kare-
oboo, he brought the Scull : scalp'd with the scalp & Ears :
the two hands which was scored & salted, Join'd together
by the skin of one Arm & that of the breast and other Arm :
with the leg thigh & arm bones these was all wrapt up in
one parcell, as being C. Cooke's, but there was another
with 2 Arms 2 legs & thigh bones which was some of the
other peoples, they told us that the Ribs back bones etc. was
burnt . . . these people went on shore in the Afternoon
promising to bring Capt. Cooke's under Jaw and Hanger
as the next day. . . .

21st a.m.

. . . at 10 sent the Jolly boat to bring off Yarpoo who
has brought Capt. Cooke's under Jaw & Double Barrell
Gun, but one of the Barrels was beat flat. . . .

21st p.m.

. . . peace being made on both sides the natives came on
board & traded with us as friendly as before, at 5 both Ships
hoisted Ensigns & Pendants half Staff up & Crossed over
Yards. at $\frac{3}{4}$ past the Resolution toll'd her bell & fir'd 10
four pounders half Minute Guns & committed the bones
of Capt. Cooke to the Deep at 6 squar'd our Yards. . . .

22nd noon

. . . at Noon many people came down to the Beach with
white flags flying sent the Jolly boat to fetch some of them
off & Carried them on board the *Resolution* they having
brought Capt. Cooke's feet. . . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANDERSON, G. H. : *George Vancouver, the Story of a Norfolk Sailor*. King's Lynn, 1923.
- BANKS, SIR JOSEPH : *Journal of Cook's First Voyage*. Banks Papers, South Kensington.
- BOIT, JOHN : Logs of Boit and Gray, annotated by F. W. Howay and T. C. Elliott, *Oregon Hist. Quarterly*. Portland, 1921.
- BROUGHTON, W. R. : *Voyage of Discovery to North Pacific Ocean*. London, 1804.
- COOK, JAMES : *Voyages into the Pacific Ocean* (3 vols.). London, Nicol & Cadell, 1784.
- COX, ROSS : *The Columbia River*. London, 1832.
- DALRYMPLE, ALEXANDER : *Charts of the N.W. Coast of America*. London, 1789-91.
- DIXON, GEORGE : *Voyage Round the World, 1785-88*. Goulding, London, 1789.
- DENTON, L. V. : *The Far West Coast*. Dent, Toronto.
- ESPINOSA Y TELLO, JOSE : *Relacion del viago hecho por las goletas sutil y Mexicana en el ano de 1792, para reconoeer el estrecho de Fuca* (2 vols.). Madrid, 1802. (English version in preparation : Argonaut Press.)
- Farington Dairy* : Edited by James Greig, London.
- HAWAIIAN ISLANDS : Cook Sesquicentennial Commission, 1930.
- HAWKESWORTH : *Voyages*.
- HEAWOOD, EDWARD : *Discoveries of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.
- HOSIE, JOHN : Journal of Captain J. S. Strange. (In preparation.)
- HOWAY, F. W. : On the New Vancouver Journal. *Washington Hist. Quarterly*, vol. vi., 1915.
- HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION (British Columbia) : Fourth Report, Victoria, B.C., 1930.
- KEITH PAPERS : Edited by W. G. Perrin.
- KING, CAPT. : *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, 1776-80* (3 vols.). London, 1784.
- KITSON, ARTHUR : *Life of James Cook*. London, 1912.
- LA PEROUSE : *Voyage of Discovery*. Paris, 1797.

- LAUGHTON, CARR : *From Howard to Nelson*. London, 1899.
- LAUGHTON, L. G. CARR : *Origin of Press Gangs, Fighting Forces*, Vol. i., 1924.
- MANNING, W. R. : *The Nootka Sound Controversy*.
- MEANY, EDMOND S. : *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound*. MacMillan, New York, 1907.
- MEARES, JOHN : *Voyages in 1788 and 1789, from China to North-West Coast*. London, 1790.
- MENZIES, ARCHIBALD : *Journal of Vancouver's Voyage 1792*. British Columbian Archives, Memoir No. 5. Victoria, B.C., 1923.
- NEWCOMBE, DR. C. F. : *First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island*. King's Printer, Victoria, 1914.
- PORTLOCK, NATHANIEL : *A Voyage Round the World*. London, 1889.
- PURCHAS, SAMUEL : *Hakluytus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*. MacLehose, Glasgow, 1905-7.
- RAWSON, GEOFFREY : *Bligh of the Bounty*. London 1930.
- READ, SIR CHARLES : Collection of ethnographical specimens formed during Vancouver's Voyage, *Anthropological Institute Journal*, XXI. 2. London, 1891.
- SMITH, E. : *Life of Sir Joseph Banks*. London, 1911.

INDEX

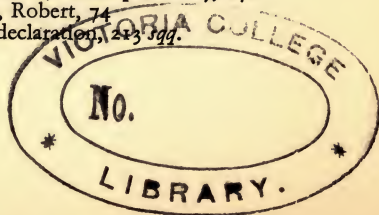
- ADAMSON, MR. (Master), 131
Adelphi, 173
 Admiralty Bay, 260
Adventure, 6, 8
 her officers, 6
 cutter's crew murdered, 9, 17
Africane, 175
 Alaska, 1, 98, 127
 Alava, Don Lewis de (Spanish Governor), 264
 Alava, Don José Manuel (General), 132, 136, 279
 Governor of St. Blas, 130 *sq.*
 Governor of Nootka, 260 *sq.*
Alfred, 276
 Alleghanies, 79
 America, North-West coast :
 projected expedition to South Seas and N.W. coast, 24
 projected English settlement of 1790, 27, 189
 expedition to occupy Nootka and survey coast, 28, 217
 the Great Survey, 63-71, 78, 93, 98, 104, 123 *sqq.*, 128, 224, 231, 234, 238 *sq.*, 253, 256, 259
 future development, 111 *sq.*
 list of surveys of N.W. coast from earliest times, 211
 Amsterdam Island, 43 *sq.*
 Anderson (gunner), 158
 Anderson, William (surgeon), 15
 Andrews, Thomas (surgeon), 6
 Anhalt, 174
 Anian, Straits of, 61, 122
 Anson, Lord, 175 *sq.*
 Antarctic, 7
Aransasu, 261
 Arathepescow Lake, 260
Argonaut, 215
 Arguello, Senior, 85, 132
 letter to, 249
 appointed Governor-General, 131
Armistion, 145
 Arnold's chronometer, 135, 203
 Arrillaga, Captain (Spanish Governor-General), 107 *sq.*, 110, 131, 235, 237 *sq.*
 letters from, 244, 248
 letters to, 244
 Ascension, 7
Assistance, 197
Astrolabe, 118
 Atchison, — (armourer), 280
 Attowai (Atooi), 58 *sq.*, 120 *sq.*, 200, 206, 229
 Auracaria imbricata (Monkey-puzzle tree), 137
 Aust, Mr., 278 *sq.*
 Australia. *See* New Holland
 BAGGE, REV. CHARLES, 181
 Bailey, James (seaman), 33
 Baker, Captain, 78
 captain of the *Jenny*, 93
 Baker, Joseph (Lieutenant), 39 *sq.*, 63, 136, 146, 148, 192, 272
 his career, 174
 Ballard, V. V. (A.B.), 32, 272, 275
 Banks, Sir Joseph, F.R.S., 5, 34, 197
 letters to, 38, 91, 139 *sqq.*, 166, 201, 208
 his opinion of Vancouver, 147 *sq.*
 draft to Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 270
 Barbadoes, 21, 170
 Barbet Battery, 254
 Barbor, Captain
 captain of the *Fame*, 21
Barfleur, 173
 Barkley Sound, 59
 Barrie, Robert (Lieutenant), 119, 155, 170, 271 *sqq.*, 275 *sq.*
 his career, 170 *sqq.*
 Barrington, Admiral, 197
 Bass, George, 45
 Batavia, 41
Beagle, 46
 Behm's Canal, 104
 Bell, Alexander (A.B.), 58
Bellepoule (Fr.), 212
 Bentinck Arm, 104
 Berkeley Sound, 210
 Berners, William, 183
 Berners Bay, 127
 Berteret, J.,
 letter to, 39
 Best, Captain, 154
 Betton's Island, 104
 Birch Bay, 67
 Blanca, Count Florida, 74, 220
 letter from, 212
Blanche, 173
 Bligh, William (Captain), 15, 44, 259
 Boconnoc, 153
 Bodega, 106, 254
 Boissi, Chevalier de, 171
 Boit, — :
 mate of the *Lady Washington*, 120
 Bombay, 175 *sq.*
 Bonaparte, Lucien, 171
 Bond Street :
 Vancouver's meeting with Pitt, 152

- Borica, Governor, 279
Bounty, 44, 53
 mutiny of, 207 *sq.*
Boussole, 118
 Brazil, 145
Brilliant, 171
 Bristol, 93, 131, 149, 257, 279
Britannia, 119 *sq.*
 Brook, Governor, 143
 Broughton, William R. (Lieutenant),
 36, 42, 50, 63, 82, 129, 173, 193,
 210, 231, 242, 258
 commander of the *Chatham*, 33; his
 instructions, 206 *sq.*
 charts Columbia River, 78
 sent to England with despatches, 83,
 172, 216, 228
 his arrival at Madrid, 131
 his career, 172
 Broughton, William, 172
 Brown, Frank, 195
 Brown, John (carpenter's mate), 32
 Brown, John Aisley (midshipman),
 158, 272 *sq.*
 Brown, Matthew (seaman), 276
 Brown, Mr., 127
 Brown, William, 257
 Buckner, Admiral, 275
 Buena Ventura, 109, 236, 254
 Burke, Edmund, 79
 Burke's Channel, 104
 charting of, 99 *sq.*
 Burney, James (Lieutenant), 15
 Burrard, Sir Harry, 70, 167
 his career, 212
 Burrard's Channel, 67, 70 and *n.*, 177
Bushbridge, East Indiaman, 271
 Bute, Earl of:
 letter to, 278
Butterworth, 101

 CAAMANO, SENOR, 85
 California:
 union with United States, 168 *sq.*
 Calvert's Island, 95
 Camelford, Lady, 119
 Camelford, Lord. *See* Pitt, Hon. Thomas
 Campo, Marquis del (Spanish Ambas-
 sador), 26
 Candish, Captain, 61 *sq.*
 Canton, 117
 Cape Caamano, 233
 Cape Chatham, 43, 46
 Cape Classet, 238
 Cape Decision, 128, 234, 238, 252, 260
 Cape Disappointment, 36
 Cape Douglas, 252 *sq.*, 259
 Cape Foulweather, 17
 Cape Hinchinbrooke, 256, 260
 Cape Horn, 9, 135, 138, 163

 Cape Howe, 46
 Cape Mendocini, 60, 63, 224
 Cape Ommaney, 128
 Cape St. Luca, 262
 Cape Sebastian, 171
 Cape Suckling, 260
 Cape Verde Island, 145
 Cape York, 45
 Carlyle, Mr. (surgeon), 154
Caroline, 272, 274
 Carrick Road, 36
 Carter, John (seaman), 33, 232
 Carteret, Philip (Rear-Admiral), 29, 208
 Casas, Chevalier de las, 278
 Cavallo, John, 213
 Chalmers Harbour, 256
 survey of coast by Puget, 126
Charon, 154, 175
Chatham, 29 *sq.*, 32, 36 *sqq.*, 39, 41 *sq.*,
 50, 56, 59, 63, 71 *sq.*, 75 *sq.*, 78,
 82 *sqq.*, 93, 98, 106 *sq.*, 117, 120,
 131, 138, 143 *sqq.*, 173, 196 *sq.*,
 199 *sqq.*, 202 *sq.*, 205, 208 *sqq.*,
 212 *sqq.*, 216 *sq.*, 222 *sq.*, 225 *sq.*,
 230 *sq.*, 234 *sq.*, 243, 253 *sq.*, 256,
 260 *sq.*, 280, 282
 her victualling and stores, 30 *sq.*,
 131, 198, 277
 her officers and men, 193
 extract from her log, 33 *sq.*
 a poor sailer, 37 *sqq.*, 41, 125
 aground, 72
 repairs to, 95, 131, 204, 230, 247, 255
 joins *Discovery* at Cook's River, 125
 table showing State and Condition,
 240 *sq.*
 Chatham Island, 50, 225
 Chatham Strait, 1
 Chesapeake, River, 171
 Chetwynd, Captain:
 captain of the *Expedition*, 23
 Chili, 261, 264, 266
 Vancouver's visit to, 136 *sq.*
 China, 76, 111, 261
 Christmas Island, 17
 Clark Russell, Sir James, 10
 Clarke, General, 145
 Clayoquot, 74
 Clerke, Charles (Captain), 6, 8, 24, 37,
 289, 291, 295
 captain of the *Discovery*, 14
 his death, 18
 Cleveland, President, 118
 Cockburn, Admiral, 171
 Cocos Island, 135, 138, 262
 Coil, Neil (marine), 42
 Coleman, James, 58 *sq.*, 90, 92
 Collingwood, Admiral, 171
 Colnett, James:
 captain of the *Rattler*, 138

- Columbia* (American), 65, 215
Columbia River, 17, 82
 Vancouver's failure to locate, 63 *sqq.*, 104,
 discovered by Gray, 65, 78
 charted by Broughton, 78
 Communication, difficulties of, 51
 Conception, 261
 Cook, James (Captain), 24, 28, 34, 37,
 41, 43 *sqq.*, 53, 57, 59, 123, 134,
 149, 157 *sq.*, 170, 177, 184 *sq.*,
 196 *sq.*, 200, 204, 281 *sq.*
 1st voyage, 4 *sq.*
 2nd voyage, 6-11
 3rd voyage, 14-19
 his honours, 16
 his death, 18, 57, 88, 101
 account of, 186 *sq.*, 289-296
Cook's River, 119 *sq.*, 123, 238 *sq.*,
 252 *sq.*, 259
 survey of, 124 *sq.*
 Cooper, R. P. (Lieutenant), 6
 Cornwallis, Commodore, 190
 Cornwallis, Lord, 20
Courageaux, 25
 Couverden, Christiaan Werner Jan van
 (Captain), 2
 Couverden, Christoffel Daniel van, 2
 Couverden, Hendrija Jacoba van, 2
 Couverden, Point, 2
 Couvorden, 1 *sq.*
 Cox, John Henry (trader), 213
 Cox, Mr., 44
 Cox's Cove, 206
 Cranstoun, Mr. (surgeon):
 letter from, 195
 discharged owing to ill-health, 76,
 97, 135, 215
 Cross Sound, 127, 252, 257, 260
Dædalus, Transport, 57, 71, 76, 78,
 82, 84, 86, 89 *sq.*, 105, 107, 120, 218,
 220, 222 *sqq.*, 226 *sq.*, 234 *sqq.*,
 238 *sq.*, 253 *sqq.*, 256 *sq.*, 274, 280
 her captain and astronomer murdered,
 75
 Dalrymple, Alexander (hydrographer),
 5, 162, 281
 his career, 185
 Dampier, William, 43, 45
 his life, 207
 Danti, Father Antonio, 81
 Darien, Isthmus of, 207
 Davic, —, 120
 Davison, Mr., 200
 De Fonta. *See* Fuentes
 De Fonte. *See* Fuentes
 De Fuca, Juan:
 his voyage, 60 *sqq.*, 64, 105, 123, 129, 234
De Fuca Straits, 65, 210, 224 *sq.*, 234
 Dean Channel, 104
 Deception Bay, 63
 Deptford, 15, 30, 32, 56, 191, 194, 269,
 271, 274
 Desolation Sound, 72 *sq.*, 232 *sq.*
Diana, 271
 Dillon, Walter (seaman), 32
 Discipline, 32, 73
 of crew, 32 *sqq.*, 52 *sq.*, 84, 148,
 218 *sq.*; desertion, 75, 84, 106 *sq.*,
 149, 217, 276, 278 *sqq.*
 of officers, 52
 of natives, 54; their trial for murder,
 90, 92
See also Menzies, and Pitt, Hon.
 Thomas
Discovery (Cook's), 14 *sqq.*, 18
 her officers, 15
Discovery (Vancouver's), 24 *sq.*, 27, 29,
 32, 37, 39 *sqq.*, 42, 46, 50, 55 *sqq.*,
 59 *sq.*, 62, 67 *sqq.*, 71 *sq.*, 74 *sqq.*,
 78 *sq.*, 83 *sqq.*, 90, 93, 97, 100 *sq.*,
 106, 110, 113 *sq.*, 117, 119 *sq.*,
 123 *sqq.*, 126 *sqq.*, 129, 131, 135 *sq.*,
 138, 143 *sqq.*, 147 *sq.*, 173, 189 *sq.*,
 195 *sqq.*, 198 *sq.*, 202 *sqq.*, 208 *sq.*,
 215, 223, 226 *sq.*, 230, 256, 261,
 268 *sq.*, 271 *sqq.*, 274 *sqq.*, 277,
 280 *sq.*, 282
 her victualling and stores, 31, 131,
 191 *sq.*, 194, 196, 198, 277
 her ordnance, 191, 194
 her officers and men, 192 *sqq.*
 extract from her log, 33
 on the rocks, 72
 repairs to, 84, 98 *sq.*, 128, 131, 134,
 136, 145, 203 *sq.*, 247, 255, 263 *sqq.*
 her bowsprit broken, 126
 her description and history, 187 *sq.*
 table showing State, etc., 240 *sq.*
 Ditton, Humphrey:
 his floating lightships, 12 *sq.*
 Dixon, George (Captain), 188
 Dobson, Thomas James (midshipman),
 81, 92, 158, 272 *sq.*
 Dolland micrometer, 5, 184 *sq.*
 Domand, David (seaman), 34
 Dominica, 22
 Donnel, David (cooper), 33
 Doubtful Island, 46
 Douglas Canal, 104
 Dover, 29
 Downs, 4, 271
Dragon, 171
 Drake, Francis (Rear-Admiral), 22
 Drenkte, 1
 Drummond, James, 195
Dubourdiou (French privateer), 171
 Duffin, Robert, 74
 his declaration, 213 *sqq.*



- Duke of Gloucester's Island, 49
 Duncan, Charles (Captain), 31
 Dundas, Mr., 282
Dunkirk, 172
 Dusky Bay, 8, 44, 46
- EALING MANOR, 162, 176, 287
 Edgar, Thomas (Master), 15, 18
 his log, extract from, 289-296
 Edgcombe, John (Lieutenant, Royal Marines), 6
 Edinburgh, 197
 Edwards, Captain :
 captain of the *Pandora*, 208
Elizabeth, brig, 175
 Elphinston, Sir George K., Lord Keith :
 his claim to share of Vancouver's prize, 144
 Ely, Isle of, 175
Endeavour, 4 sqq., 34
 Enemoh (Chief), 59, 88
 England : foreign relations :
 dispute with Spain, 25 sq.
 the 'Spanish Armament,' 25
 restitution of English property, 26, 212, 220 sq., 246
 Vancouver refers dispute to court of Great Britain, 76
 new commission issued for cession of Nootka, 132
 war with France declared, 127
 war with Holland, 143
 Escape Point, 103, 233
 Essington, Captain, 144 sq.
Europa, 22 sq., 173
Expedition, 23, 212
- FACILE HARBOUR, 46
Falcon sloop, 172
 Falmouth, 32, 34, 36, 98, 153, 198, 200 sqq., 216, 219
 False Bay, 204
 Fannin, Peter (Master), 6
Fame, 21 sq.
 Faulkner, Jonathan (Captain) :
 captain of the *Diana*, 271
Fenix and St. Joseph, 76
 Figalga, Senor (Spanish Commandant), 95, 230
 Fisher, Captain :
 captain of the *Europa*, 22 sq.
 Fittler, James, A.R.A., 162
 Fitzhugh's Sound, 95, 98, 231
 Flinders, Matthew (Captain), 45
Foudroyant, 173
 France :
 the Revolution, 78, 127
 free passage for Vancouver's ships, 143
 See also Spain, foreign relations, and England, foreign relations
- Fraser River :
 Vancouver fails to locate, 66-70, 104
 Friendly Cove, 77, 129, 131, 168, 213 sq.
 Fuentes, Admiral de, 105, 122 sq., 129, 234
 Funter, Robert, 214
 Fur Trade, 25, 111, 117, 131, 213, 233
 Furneaux, Tobias (Captain), 14
 captain of the *Adventure*, 6
 Furneaux's Islands, 206
- GALAPAGOS ISLANDS, 135, 138, 262
 Galiano, Senor Don :
 captain of the *Sutil*, 71
 Gambier, Lord, 172
 Gardner, Sir Alan (Admiral), 22, 23, 24 sq.
 Gardner's Canal, 104
 Geneva, Lake, 156
 Georgia, Gulf of, 66
 Gigedo, Conde Revilla (Viceroy of New Spain), 104, 131, 149, 231
 letters from, 242
 his complaint against Vancouver, 149, 278 sqq.
 Gilbert, Joseph (Master), 6
 Glasspole, John (marine), 33
Goliath, 173
 Gooch, Mr. :
 astronomer of the *Dædalus*, 75
 his murder by natives, 75, 89 sqq., 91, 230
 their trial, 90, 92
 Good Hope, Cape of, 7, 16, 39, 41 sq., 143, 198, 203 sqq., 207, 265
 Vancouver's arrival at, 41, 203
 Gore, John (Lieutenant), 15
Gorgon, 27, 41, 189 sq.
 Goycochea, Senor Don, 109
 Grasse, Count de (Admiral), 20, 21
 Battle of the Saints : his defeat and capture, 22
 Gray, Robert (Captain) :
 captain of the *Columbia*, 65
 discovers and names Columbia River, 65, 78
 captain of the *Lady Washington*, 65, 188
 Grejaro, Senor Antonia (Spanish Commandant), 110, 237 sq.
 letter from, 249
 letter to, 250
 Grenada, 22
 Grenville, Lord, 27, 41 sq., 75, 153, 155, 197, 219 sq., 223, 278 sq.
 letter from, 189, 278
 letter to, 204
 Grenville Canal, 104
 Grey, George (Captain), 69
 Grose, Major, 235
 Guadalupe, Island of, 253 sq.
Guardian, 154

- Guernsey, 194
 Guitierrez, Don Antonio, 37
 Guy, William, 195
- HAMMOND, GEORGE : letter to, 278
 Hampstead Norris, 162
Hancock (American), 121
 Hanson, James (Lieutenant), 63, 86, 120, 193, 223 *sq.*, 235, 256
 appointed captain of the *Dædalus*, 75
 Harris, Edwin Charlton, 272 *sq.*
 Harrison, John :
 his chronometer, 13, 186
 Hawaii, 17 *sq.*, 94, 149, 151, 169
 future importance of, 117 *sq.*
 independence of, 118
 Republic, 118
 annexation by U.S.A., 118
 Heath, James, A.R.A., 162
 Hecata, Bruno, 28, 73
 Hergest, Lieutenant :
 captain of the *Dædalus*, 75
 murdered by natives, 75, 89 *sq.*, 90 *sq.*, 219, 230
 their trial, 90, 92
 Hergest Islands, 217
 Holkham Bay, 127
 Hood, Samuel, Lord (Admiral), 21, 212
 House, Willan (boatswain), 227
 Howard, William (seaman), 34
 Huahaine. *See* Society Islands
 Hudson Bay Company, 167
 Humphreys, Mr., 133
- ICY CAPE, 17
 Impress, 3, 20, 148, 271
 origin of, 183 *sq.*
 India, 111
 Innes, Captain :
 captain of the *Europa*, 22
Iphigenia, 188
 Ireland, 146
- JACK. *See* TAREHOOA
Jackall, 127
 Jamaica :
 survey of Port Royal and Kingston Harbour, 22
 James, R. A. (Captain) :
 captain of the *Europa*, 22
 Japan, 111, 117
 Jave la Grande, 45
 Jefferson, Thomas, 79
Jenny, 93, 257
 Johnstone, James (Master), 37, 63, 72, 98, 128, 136, 138, 193, 233
 letter from, 39
 promotion to lieutenant, 75
 in command of Dutch prize, 145
 his career, 175
- Jones, Richard (seaman), 138
 Juan Fernandez Island, 135, 207
- KAHOWMOTOO, 120
 Kamehameha. *See* Tamaahmaah
 Kanai, 94
 Karakakoa Bay, 57, 88, 113, 117, 119, 206, 229, 251, 253, 257, 261
 Kar-re-obbo, 291, 294 *sq.*
 Kealakekua Bay, 18, 101
 Kele, Thomas (boatswain), 195
 Kempe, Arthur (Lieutenant), 6
 Kendall's chronometer, 135, 203
 Kendrick, Captain, 58, 90, 188, 215
Keppel, 175
 Kew, 137
 King, James (Lieutenant), 15, 281, 289, 291, 295
 King, John, 223
 King George the Third's Sound, 43, 225
 King's Lynn, 1 *sq.*, 73, 80, 82, 99, 176, 181
 Kingston, 22
 Kiré-kea, 294 *sq.*
 Korie (Chief of Oparo), 49
 Kuykendall, Ralph (historian) :
 quoted, 121
- Lady Washington* (American), 58, 65, 120, 188, 215
 Laguna, 37 *sq.*
 Landseer, Sir Edwin, 162
 Landseer, John (engraver), 162
 Langdon, — (marine), 280
 Langley, John (marine), 33 *sq.*
 Lasuen, Don Fermin Francisco de, 84
 Law, John (surgeon), 15
Le Bourdelais, 170, 175
 Leeds, Duke of, 26
 Leeward Islands, 57, 59
 Liholiho. *See* Tamaahmaah II
 Lima, 264
 Limerick, 139
 Linnean Society, 197
 Livestock, 48, 84, 118 *sq.*, 138, 205, 224, 226, 229, 235, 255
 Lizard, 36
 Long Reach, 193 *sq.*, 271, 276
 Longitude, methods of determining, 12 *sq.*
 Loughborough, Lord (Lord Chancellor), 153
 Loughborough's Channel, 152
 Louis XVI, 127
 Lowestoft, 172 *sq.*
 Luke, Captain, 274
 Lynn Canal, 127
 Lynn Grammar School, 3
 Lyon's Land, 206

- MACAO, 213
Macassar (D.E.I.C.):
 taken by Vancouver, 144, 164
 Mackell, Charles (seaman), 33
 Macready, W., 195
 Madeira, 37 *sq.*
 Madrid, 25 *sq.*, 62, 111, 131
 Malacca, 151, 172
 Malaspina, Senor, 71
 Manby, George, 175
 Manby, Thomas (master's mate), 55,
 170 *sq.*, 272
 his log, 49, 54, 56 *sqq.*, 83, 89, 117,
 219
 his career, 175
 Manquinna (Chief), 77, 214
 Manu, 94
 Maquilla. *See* Manquinna
 Maria's Islands, 206
Maringo (French), 212
 Marquesas, 9
Martin, sloop, 21
 Martinez, Don José Esteven, 26, 117,
 188, 215
 Martinique, 22
 Maskelyne, Nevil, F.R.S.:
 his prismatic micrometer, 13
 Matavai Bay, 46 *sq.*, 206
 Maui, 88
 enquiry into murder of Hergest, 89 *sq.*
 Mauritius, 172
 McKenzie, George Charles, 158, 272
 Meares, John, 57, 62, 65, 74, 77, 118,
 133, 221
 his memorial, 25 *sq.*
 his claims, 188, 213 *sqq.*
 Menzies, Archibald (botanist and sur-
 geon), 31, 37, 65, 77, 81, 101, 103,
 134 *sqq.*, 138, 247, 257
 letters from, 38, 91, 139, 166, 201,
 208, 269
 letter to, 268
 strained relations with Vancouver,
 34 *sq.*, 52, 138 *sqq.*, 141 *sqq.*, 147 *sq.*,
 201 *sq.*; under arrest, 139
 appointed surgeon, 76, 97, 135, 215
 his journal, refusal to give up, 142 *sq.*,
 202, 268 *sq.*
 court-martial pending, 142
 his apology, 269
 his instructions, 270
 his career, 197
Mercury, 44
 Merry, Anthony (British Chargé
 d'Affaires), 26
Mexicana (Spanish), 71
 Mexico, 26, 132, 168, 245, 253, 258
 Viceroy of, 108
See also Spain, foreign relations
 Milbank Sound, 104
Monarch, 173
 Montague Island, 257
 Monterey, 82 *sqq.*, 85, 106 *sq.*, 131,
 133 *sq.*, 149, 226, 235 *sq.*, 244,
 248 *sq.*, 254, 262, 279
 More, Hugh, 258
 Moreton Bay, 45
 Mount Gardner, 46
 Mowee, 229 *sq.*
 Mudge, Zachariah (Lieutenant), 63, 75,
 119, 130, 158, 192, 258
 sails with despatches, 76, 173
 his career, 173 *sq.*
 his log, 174
 NARROWS, 67
 Neah Bay, 74
 Nepean, Evan, 85, 202
 letter from, 278
 letters to, 141, 143, 161, 219, 268 *sq.*,
 271 *sqq.*, 274 *sqq.*, 277, 280 *sq.*
 his career, 176
 New Albion, 17, 60, 66, 84, 110, 134,
 224, 230, 279
 New Caledonia, 9
 New California. *See* New Albion
 New Guinea, 45
 New Hebrides, 9
 New Holland, 41 *sq.*, 43, 95
 survey of coast, 43 *sqq.*, 169, 204 *sqq.*,
 225
 New Norfolk. *See* Alaska
 New South Wales, 84, 199, 218, 224,
 235, 274
 New Spain. *See* Mexico
 New-Year's Harbour, 267
 New Zealand, 8 *sq.*, 16 *sq.*, 46, 225
 charted by Cook, 5
 Newfoundland, 4
 Noo-ah, 292
 Noot, John (boatswain), 206
 Nootka, 17, 65, 70, 85, 93 *sq.*, 98, 104 *sq.*,
 107, 117, 126, 129, 131 *sq.*, 134,
 148, 173, 210, 212, 219 *sqq.*, 223,
 226 *sq.*, 231, 235, 239, 245 *sq.*,
 252, 273 *sq.*, 276, 279
 seizure of English ships and property
 by Spain, 26, 188, 213
 expedition to occupy and survey
 coast, 28, 217
 Meares' claim, 188
See also Spain: foreign relations
 Nootka Convention. *See* Spain: foreign
 relations
 Nore, 15, 18, 20, 32, 148, 275
 mutiny at, 212
 Norfolk Island, 208 *n.*
 North-West Passage, 15, 17, 105, 125,
 129, 169 *and n.*, 258
 De Fuca's claim, 60 *sq.*

- OAHU, 59, 90, 94, 120, 206, 229 *sq.*
 murder of Hergest by natives, 75
 Observatory Inlet :
 expedition led by Vancouver, 101 *sqq.*
 Omai, 14, 17
 Oparo (Aparoo), 48 *sq.*, 174
 Oparré, 54, 56
 Orchard, Henry Masterman, 158, 272,
 275 *sq.*
 Osnaburgh Island, 49
 Otahiti. *See* Society Islands
 Otoo, King, 50, 54, 56
 Owhyhee, 57, 87, 90, 113 *sq.*, 121, 190,
 206, 229, 253 *sq.*, 255, 261
 island ceded to Britain, 116 *sq.*
 Oyster Harbour, 45, 225

 PAKENHAM, HON. SIR THOMAS, 22
 Pandora, 53, 208
 Parker, Sir Peter, 275
 Par-rea, 289 *sq.*
 Partridge, Martha, 162, 176
 Patten, James (surgeon), 6
 Pay, 163 *sq.*, 196 *sq.*
 Vancouver asks addition to, 164
 scale of, in Vancouver's day, 185
 Pegase, 173
 Pena, Father Thomas Da la, 82
 Perouse, La, Comte de, 118, 248
 Perseverance, 212
 Peru, 264
 Petersham, 150, 163, 228, 281, 284
 burial of Vancouver at, 167
 Petersham Lodge, 152
 Philippines, 117
 Philips, Molesworth (Lt., R.M.), 15
 Phillip, Arthur (Governor, New South
 Wales), 27, 41, 75, 78, 86, 206
 letters to, 189, 223, 226
 Phillips, Henry (carpenter):
 sent under arrest to Port Jackson,
 84, 218
 court-martial on, 148, 273 *sqq.*, 276
 his note of *Discovery's* defects, 203 *sq.*
 Pickersgill, Richard (Lieutenant), 6
 Pigot, Robert (midshipman), 158, 272
 Pitcairn Island, 208
 Pitt, Hon. Thomas, 31, 39, 81
 insubordination, 148, 151, 223
 put ashore at the Sandwich Islands,
 119, 148, 151
 challenge to Vancouver, 151 *sq.*
 his career and character, 153 *sq.*
 death, 154 *sq.*
 Pitt, William, 1st Earl of Chatham, 20,
 24, 79, 219
 Pitt Island, 104
 Plymouth, 6 *sq.*, 14, 23
 Plympton, 174
 Poeno (Chief of Matavai), 53, 55
 Point Astley, 127
 Point Bridget, 127
 Point Carren, 257
 Point Coke, 127
 Point Couverden, 127
 Point Felipe, 110
 Point Gardner, 128
 Point Grejaro, 110
 Point Grey, 69, 71
 Point Hobart, 127
 Point Roberts, 68 *sq.*
 Point St. Mary, 127
 Point Sal, 108
 Point Turner, 257
 Point Walpole, 127
 Point Windham, 127
 Pointcey, Benjamin (engraver), 162
 Pomone, 171
 Pomurrey. *See* Otoo
 Pontefract, 13
 Port Conclusion, 130
 final survey of N.W. coast, 128
 Port Cox, 210, 212, 220
 Port Effingham, 210
 Port Essington, 104
 Port Houghton, 127
 Port Jackson, 27, 41, 75, 78, 84, 86,
 95 *sq.*, 105, 120, 206, 224, 238,
 254, 256, 280
 Port John, 99
 Port Mary, 127
 Port Mulgrave, 126, 256 *sq.*
 Port Protection, 100
 Port Royal, 22
 Port Snettisham, 127
 Portland Canal, 104
 Portsmouth, 9, 32, 48, 198, 201
 Poupée, 275
 Prince, 173
 Prince of Wales, 31
 Prince of Wales Archipelago, 100
 Prince William Sound, 188, 252 *sq.*, 260
 Princess Royal Island, 104
 Princesa (Spanish), 130, 215, 260
 Providence, 173
 Province, 172
 Puebla, 130
 Puerto de la Trinidad, 230
 Puget, Eleanor, 173
 Puget, Elizabeth, 173
 Puget, John (banker), 173
 Puget, Peter (Lieutenant), 38, 40, 63, 65,
 95, 101, 103, 117, 119, 125 *sq.*, 136,
 158, 163, 192, 230, 233, 274 *sqq.*
 accompanies Vancouver on Fraser
 River expedition, 67 *sqq.*
 to command the *Chatham* in Brough-
 ton's absence, 216
 instructions for officers going ashore,
 250 *sq.*

- Puget, Peter (Lieutenant)—*contd.*
 instructions for rendezvous, 252,
 256, 257
 his career, 172 *sq.*
 Puget, William, 173
 Puget Sound, 65 *sq.*, 111, 152
 Purchas, Samuel, 61, 212
- QUADRA, JUAN FRANCISCO DE LA
 BODEGA Y, 28, 62, 71, 82 *sqq.*, 107
sq., 110, 129, 168, 227, 235, 238, 239,
 245 *sq.*, 248
 letter from, 249
 commander-in-chief of St. Blas and
 California, 73
 negotiations with Vancouver, 73-77,
 85, 221
 his friendship for, 75, 77, 84
 his death, 130, 260
 Quadra and Vancouver Island. *See*
 Vancouver Island
 Quebec, 4, 184
 Queen Charlotte's Islands, 234
 Queen Charlotte's Sound, 8 *sq.*, 17, 71,
 76, 225
- RAGBOLD, JOHN (armourer), 33
 Ramsden, Mr., 201 *sq.*
 Rating, 7. *See also* Pay.
 Rattler, 138
 Reeves, Benjamin, 273
 Rendezvous, 47, 57, 59, 77, 82, 120,
 126, 138, 199 *sq.*, 206 *sq.*, 226,
 243, 252, 256 *sq.*, 267
 Resistance, 151
 Resolution, 5 *sq.*, 8 *sq.*, 11, 15 *sq.*, 185,
 259, 291 *sq.*, 294 *sqq.*
 her officers, 6
 Revilla Gigedo Island, 101, 104
 Rhoney, Mr., 37
 Richmond, 150
 Rickman, John (Lieutenant), 15
 Roberts, Edwin (midshipman), 94, 110,
 158, 175, 228, 272 *sq.*
 his promotion, 284 *sq.*
 Roberts, Henry (Captain), 24
 Rodney, Lord (Admiral):
 his junction with Hood at Barbadoes,
 21
 Battle of the Saints, 22
 Ross, Major-General, 171
 Rowbottom, a Derbyshire boy, 58
 Royal George, 197
 Rycraft, John (seaman), 34
- SAAVADRA, SENOR (Spanish Comman-
 dant), 105
 St. Blas, 70, 73, 83, 107, 110, 117,
 129, 231, 238 *sq.*, 245, 253, 258,
 260 *sq.*
 St. Carlos, Mission of, 84
 St. Eustatia, 21
 St. Helena, 138, 140, 142 *sq.*, 145, 163,
 168, 267
 St. Helens, Lord, 133
 St. Hermogenes, 123
 St. Jago, 136, 266
 St. John's, 254
 St. Lawrence, Port of. *See* Nootka
 St. Lawrence River:
 charting of, 4
 St. Lazarus, Archipelago of, 122
 St. Lucia, 22
 St. Mary Wiggenhall. *See* Wiggenhall
 St. Mary
 St. Nicholas, 173
 St. Paul Island, 43 *sq.*
 St. Salvadore, 145
 Saints, Battle of the, 22, 197
 Sal, Don, 81, 85, 106, 235
 letter from, 243
 letter to, 243
 San Carlos (Spanish), 215, 231
 San Diego, 110 *sq.*, 131, 217, 246, 249,
 253 *sq.*, 259, 280
 San Domingo, 62, 110, 254
 San Francisco, 77 *sqq.*, 80, 84, 106 *sqq.*,
 235, 254
 Mission of, 81 *sq.*
 San Lorenzo. *See* Nootka
 Sanchez, Father Joseph, 82
 Sandwich Islands, 17, 41, 56, 59, 75, 78,
 85, 108, 110, 125, 199 *sqq.*, 204 *sq.*,
 206 *sq.*, 217, 226, 229, 230, 238,
 246, 254, 276 *sq.*
 Vancouver's 1st visit, 57
 Vancouver's 2nd visit, 87, 94
 Vancouver's 3rd visit, 113, 121,
 254 *sqq.*
 his policy of peace, 113-116, 121
 Pitt discharged ashore, 119, 148, 151
 the construction of the *Britannia*, 119
See also Hawaii
 Sanspareil, 197
 Santa Anna (Spanish), 62
 Santa Barbara, 108, 254
 description of, 109
 — Canal, 236 *sq.*
 — Mission, 236
 Santa Clara, Mission of, 82
 Santa Cruz, 38
 Santa Marta, 207
 Saunders, Sir Charles (Admiral), 4
 his charting of the St. Lawrence, 184
 his career, 184
 Scott, James (Lieutenant, Royal
 Marines), 6, 158
 Selkirk, Alexander, 207
 Seymour, Lord Hugh (Admiral), 197
 Shank, Joseph (Lieutenant), 6

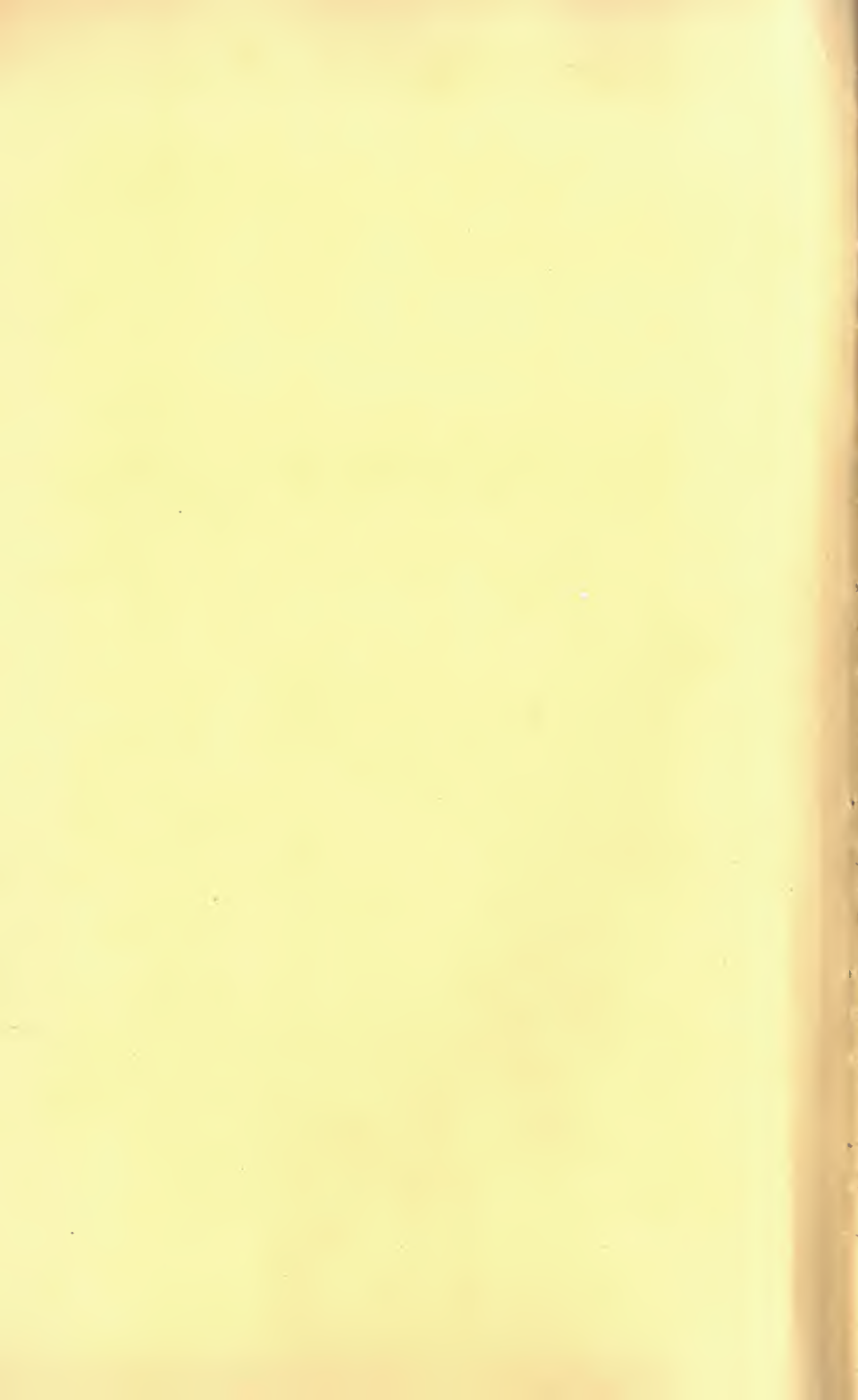
- Shannon*, 141, 148
Shannon River, 146
Shapely, Nicolas, 123
Sheerness, 275 *sq.*
Shelburne, Lord, Marquess of Lans-
downe, 176
Siberia, 117
Sickness, 42, 95, 134, 232
 outbreak of scurvy, 134 *sq.*, 138
Simmonds, Mrs., 154
Sirius, 27, 189
Skeena River, 104
Smith, — (convict), 280
Snares, The, 48, 225
Snug Corner Cove, 252
Society Islands, 5, 9
 Huahaine, 17
 Otahiti, 17, 46 *sq.*, 49 *sq.*, 53, 56,
 205 *sq.*
Sonora (Spanish), 73
South Cape. See Lyon's Land
South Seas, Expedition to. See America,
 North-West coast
Southampton, 212
Southwark, 149
Spain : foreign relations :
 dispute with England, 25
 the Nootka Convention, 25 *sq.*, 73, 85,
 212
 Quadra refers dispute to court of
 Spain, 76
 instructions to Alava, 132
 Franco-Spanish alliance, 21 *sq.*
 Alliance against France, 83, 235
 Spanish Settlements, description of, 254
Spencer, Lord, 119, 228, 284
Spithead, 11, 22, 27, 32, 36, 73, 98, 195,
 197, 201
Staten Land, 267
Stephen's Island, 101
Stephens, — (marine), 33
Stephens, Philip (Secretary to the Ad-
miralty), 95, 98, 104, 108, 110, 131,
 242
 letters to, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196,
 197, 198, 202, 203, 205, 216, 218,
 227, 228, 231, 253, 259, 262
 supposed memorandum by, 132
 his career, 175 *sq.*
Stewart, John (master's mate), 158,
 272 *sq.*
Stix, 197
Stockdale, — (publisher), 152
Stopford, Admiral, 172
Stromness, 18
Stuart, Hon. Charles (midshipman),
 272 *sq.*
Sutil (Spanish), 71
Swaine, Spelman (Lieutenant), 98 *sq.*,
 101, 136, 236 *sq.*, 272
Swaine, Spelman—contd.
 master's mate in the *Discovery*, 75
 master of the *Chatbam*, 75
 his career, 175
Swallow, 29
Sykes, James (Navy Agent), 131, 164,
 167, 228, 275, 287
 letter to, 257, 284
Sykes, John (master's mate), 272 *sq.*
Syren, 172

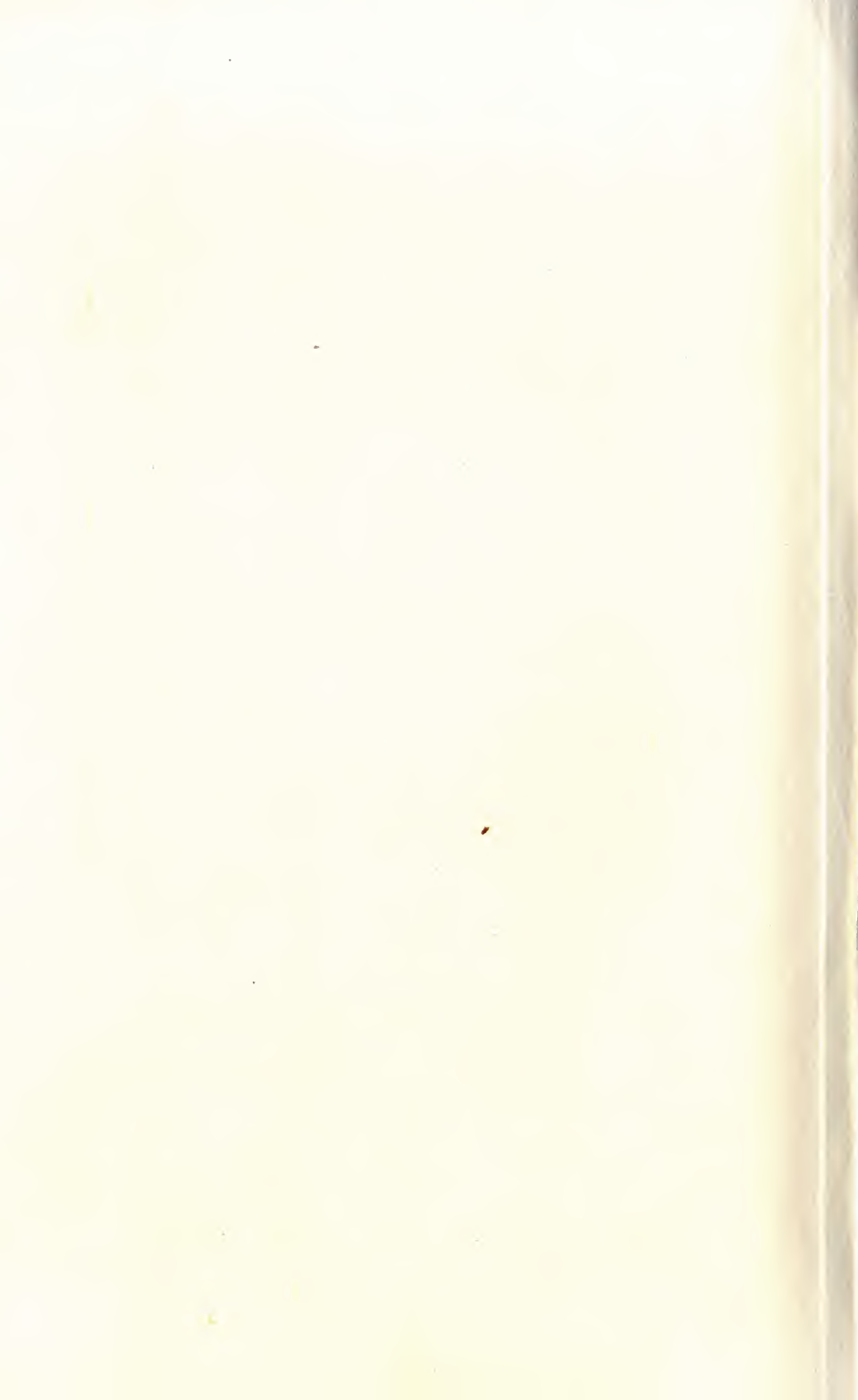
TAHEEOPIAH, 93 *sq.*
Tahiti, 5, 8, 207
Tahow-man-noo, 114 *sq.*
Tamaahmaah, King, 87 *sq.*, 90, 92,
 94, 110, 113 *sq.*, 118, 229, 239,
 251, 254 *sq.*
Tamaahmaah II, 118
Taoi, 59, 88
Tarehooa (Jack) :
 sails with Vancouver, 58, 93
 put ashore at the Sandwich Islands,
 120
Temeraire, 173
Teneriffe, 38, 41
 quarrel between ship's company and
 Spanish guards, 37 *sq.*
Tennavee, 93
Termination Island, 46
Theseus, 173
Thetis, 173
Three Marias, 262
Tianna, 57, 88 *sq.*
Titeeree (chief of Maui), 90
Tomohomoho. See Tamaahmaah
Topaz (American sealer), 208
Toweroo, 31, 48 and *n.*, 89
 his love affair, 55 *sq.*, 58, 89
Trade with natives, regulation of, 53 *sq.*,
 57, 208 *sq.*
Traitors' Cove : ship's boats attacked by
 natives, 101 *sq.*, 233
Tscheriknows Isle, 62
Turnagain, River, 260
Turner, Charles, 2
Tymarow, 93 *sq.*

Union, 151
Uripcha, 54

VALDES, SENOR :
 captain of the *Mexicana*, 71
Valenar, Dom Ambrosio Higgins de,
 136 *sq.*, 264, 266
 his career, 261
Valparaiso, 135, 137, 262, 266
Van Diemen's Land, 16, 41, 46, 206
 project to determine insularity, 41,
 204
 abandoned, 45

- Vancouver, Bridget, 1, 3 *sq.*, 183
 Vancouver, Charles, 3, 164, 176, 287
 —, Charles (of Kentucky), 176 *sq.*
 Vancouver, Elizabeth, 176, 181, 183
 Vancouver, George:
 letters from, 141, 143, 161, 191, 193,
 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 202, 203,
 204, 205, 216, 218, 219, 223, 226,
 227, 228, 231, 243, 244, 250, 253,
 257, 259, 262, 268, 269, 271, 272,
 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 280, 281,
 284
 letters to, 195, 242, 243, 244, 248,
 249, 269
 his birth, 1 *sq.*, 181
 boyhood, 3 *sq.*
 appearance, 11, 14, 37, 50, 163
 character, 160
 voyages with Cook, 7-11, 14-19, 290
 West Indian Station, 20 *sqq.*
 to command Nootka expedition,
 28 *sqq.*
 his instructions, 28 *sq.*, 130 *sq.*, 219
 sq.
 negotiations with Quadra, 73-77, 85
 friendship for, 75, 77, 84 *sq.*
 failure to settle Nootka cession, 85,
 130, 132
 his health, 29, 50, 63, 97, 98, 126, 130,
 134, 135, 137, 150, 163, 166, 228,
 284
 care for his men, 8, 10, 42, 53, 99,
 138, 170, 227
 his policy of peace, 87 *sq.*, 113 *sqq.*,
 118, 121
 his promotion, 129
 his journey homeward, 133
 requests court-martial on Menzies,
 142, 147
 takes D. E. Indiaman off St. Helena,
 143 *sq.*, 164
 anchors in the Shannon and resigns
 command, 146
 complaint against, by Governor of
 Mexico, 149, 278 *sqq.*
 preparation of his journal, 149 *sq.*,
 158, 280 *sq.*
 cost of, 160 *sqq.*, 282
 completion, 163
 review of, 164 *sq.*
 expenses granted, 281, 283
 his death, 163, 167
 his will, 164, 287
 thoroughness of his work, 169 *sq.*
 Vancouver, John (Deputy Customer),
 3 *sq.*, 99, 149, 152, 162 *sqq.*, 166,
 176, 183, 228, 287
 Vancouver, John—*contd.*
 he completes Vancouver's Journal,
 163, 165
 his will, 181 *sq.*
 Vancouver, John, of Warwick, 2
 Vancouver, John Jasper (Deputy Col-
 lector of Customs), 1 *sq.*, 80
 Vancouver, Mary, 164, 287
 Vancouver, Sarah, 164, 287
 Vancouver City, 70, 167
 Vancouver Island, 168
 insularity determined, 71
 named to commemorate meeting
 with Quadra, 77
 Vashon, James (Captain):
 captain of the *Europa*, 23
 Venice, 61
Venus, 71
 Venus, transit of, 5, 185, 262
 Vera Cruz, 242
 Victoria, 168
Victory, 212
 Victualling Office:
 letter from, 30
Ville de Paris (French):
 Flagship of de Grasse, 22
 WALES, WILLIAM, 10 *sq.*, 227
 his career, 185 *sq.*
 War of American Independence, 20
Warren Hastings, 203
 Washington, George, 79
 Webber, John, 53
 West Indies, 20 *sqq.*, 170, 172 *sq.*
 Whidbey, Joseph (master), 22, 40, 63,
 82, 128, 192, 247, 254 *sq.*, 272
 Whiston:
 his floating lightships, 12 *sq.*
 Whitshed, Rear-Admiral, 173
 Whymea:
 Vancouver returns native girls from
 Nootka, 78, 93 *sq.*
 Whymoa Bay, 200, 206
 Whyteete Bay, 90 *sq.*, 230
 Whytooa, 54
 Wighenhall St. Mary, 3, 127, 183
 Williams, John, 58
 Williamson, John (Lieutenant), 15, 294
 Woahoo. *See* Oahu
 Wooderson, William, 273
 Woolwich, 29
 Wytcliet, Cornelius, 45
 YARPOO, 295 *sq.*
 Yeovil, 207
 Young, —, 120







A CHART
shewing part of the
COAST of N.W. AMERICA
with the tracks of HIS MAJESTY'S Sloop
DISCOVERY and **Armed Tender CHATHAM**
Commanded by **GEORGE VANCOUVER Esq.** and prepared
from the Original Surveys under his immediate inspection by **Lieut. Edw. Roberts** in which the
CONTINENTAL SHORE has been surveyed by **TRACK** and **DETERMINED**,
From Lat. 54° N. and Long. 122° E. to Cape Douglas in Lat. 41° N. and Long. 127° 30' E.
during the Summers of 1792, 1793 and 1794.
The parts not shaded to the Eastward of Cape Douglas are taken from Spanish Authorities
and those not shaded to the Westward of Cape St. Pierre are taken from Russian Authorities
The track of the **Discovery** is marked with a solid line and that of the **Chatham** with a dashed line.

A CHART
of the
SANDWICH ISLANDS.

PART OF THE GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS.

The ISLAND of COCOAS.

Lat. 5° 55' N.
Long. 152° 30' W.
Per. 7. 45. 00. E.



Vancouver, a life, 1757-1798 /

G 246 V3G6

DATE _____

MAY 1

2001

